NEO-NAZIS AND THE WAR AGAINST WOMEN'S REPRODUCTIVE FREEDOM

Brutal violence, vandalism, and harassment against abortion clinic workers is increasing throughout Canada and the United States. By terrorizing people who provide abortion services, anti-choice zealots are trying to wipe out reproductive freedom for women.

All over North America, abortion providers and their allies are reporting on neo-nazi involvement in harassment, pickets, and violence against clinic workers. This package aims to bring attention to their growing role in the anti-abortion crusade, by exposing concrete connections between the most vicious anti-choice groups and their neo-nazi cronies. It also includes some historical context to the current racist and anti-semitic organizing against women's reproductive freedom.

This pro-choice poster was created in Germany in 1931, to rally women against Paragraph 218, a law imposing long jail sentences to anyone providing or getting an abortion. The slogan of International Women's Day that year in Germany was "Down with Paragraph 218! We Want Bread and Peace!" As women involved in local anti-fascist work, we are publishing this pamphlet on International Women's Day in 1995 in solidarity with our anti-fascist sisters everywhere, women who are struggling for control over our own bodies against male domination, religious fundamentalism, white supremacy and imperialism.

Women of Anti-Racist Action and the Jewish Feminist Anti-Fascist League

International Women's Day 1995, Toronto

NEO-NAZIS AND THE WAR AGAINST WOMEN'S REPRODUCTIVE FREEDOM

Opposing reproductive freedom for women is a central part of the neo-nazi agenda today. Recognizing that women are the bedrock on which any community is built, they are afraid of women's power and plot to control our lives. Obsessed with the coming "racial holy war", they conspire to force able-bodied white women to bear children for their "aryan nation", and label white women who resists a "traitor to the race". Meanwhile, nazis would prevent women of colour, Jewish women and disabled women from having children at all.

What Is National Socialism?

National Socialism is a philosophy for White people that is based on three principles:

(1) *Natural Order*—We believe that the universe is governed by natural laws. In order for Man to be happy and successful, he must first learn what these laws are and then follow them. We believe that Man is a part of the natural world and that he is in no way separate or distinct from it. Because of this, we believe that society should be structured in accordance with the laws of Nature, and not in opposition to them as is the case today.

(2) *Racial Idealism*—Racial Idealism is based on the love of one's own people. It means placing the interests and welfare of the racial community to which you belong ahead of your own personal interests and desires. As racial idealists, we have no wish to harm, persecute or exploit other racial groups. We are only interested in protecting our own people.

We believe that all men are NOT created equal. Just as every individual has his own strengths and weaknesses, so each race has certain qualities that make it different from other races. We believe that the White (or *Aryan*) race has the right to maintain its biological, cultural and political independence, and that it has the right to control its own destiny. We also believe that the White race has the right to defend itself against all attacks—no matter where they come from.

(3) *The Upward Development of the White Race*—We want to do more than just defend our Race: we want to see it improve. This can be done by encouraging a high birthrate among those sections of the White population which are the healthiest, strongest and most intelligent. At the same time, science should work to eliminate hereditary weaknesses and defects among our people. Our goal is that each new generation of White children will be better than the one before it.

In the United States and Canada, National Socialism is represented by the NEW ORDER, which was founded by George Lincoln Rockwell in 1959. For more information on our organization and its beliefs, contact the address below:

NEW ORDER

Programme of the National Socialist White Workers Party, U.S. Inheritors of Hitler's Nazi Party.

It's easy to mock their rhetoric today. But it would be a mistake to write them off as stupidly ineffectual, because their propaganda validates popular racism and misogyny, and successfully inspires terroristic attacks on women's rights. And only 50 years ago, this same rhetoric was official policy in Nazi Germany.

The idea that society can be improved by controlling which people have children is part of a pseudo-scientific theory. known as "eugenics", or "the science of improving the stock". While in power in the 1930s, the German Nazi party enforced many eugenics programs even before the concentration camps were established. The experience of women and men in Nazi Germany helps to illustrate how today's neo-nazis, white supremacists and fascists want to control women's reproductive freedom.

Nazi Germany: Eliminating the Unfit and Breeding the Master Race

During the 1920s and 1930s abortion was being prohibited all over Europe. Having been legalized in 1920 in Bolshevik Russia, it was seen as a communist measure. Criminalizing abortion was understood by feminists and socialists in Germany as a state tool forcing women to live as fertility machines for the post-war depression. Communists worked closely with sex reformers to fight Paragraph 218, a section of the criminal code that severely punished abortion, imposing harsh jail sentences to anyone who performed, assisted or obtained an abortion.

With Hitler's rise to power in 1933, the misogynist fascist philosophy of *Kinder, Küche, Kirche* (children, kitchen, church) pushed itself into the mainstream. Many feminist achievements were flushed away by Nazi extreme pronatalism (that is, promotion of a higher birthrate).

Abortion laws were intricately tied to aryan supremacy. Anti-choice propaganda was soaked in anti-Semitism, depicting Jewish doctors and naturopaths who offered clandestine abortions as "unhealers" and "shrews" who lured pure aryan women into their "death chambers". The imagery recalled medieval Church myths of Jews murdering christian babies.

While Jews were politically targeted as malicious doctors, other "undesirables" were medically penalized. In May of 1933, the Reich began encouraging abortion for those considered "hereditarily ill" and "alien". 1934 saw the establishment of Hereditary Health Courts, consisting of a panel of Nazi-appointed "experts" who had the power to order the sterilization of anyone considered "unfit". These laws first targeted psychiatric survivors and disabled people as "lives unworthy of life". It is estimated that 200,000 to 350,000 people were sterilized during the Nazi regime.

Meanwhile, the infamous BDM (German Girls League) and NSF (National Socialist Womanhood) indoctrinated aryan women to be proud of their roles as nurturers and babymaking factories, and the Nazi bureaucracy created several new offices to promote higher birthrates among Germans. After 1935, unmarried aryan women living at home were ordered by the Ministry of the Interior to report to a local advisory board if pregnant, centralizing the state's security hook into women's lives. These boards offered financial grants to encourage women to keep their babies, while the Mother and Child branch of the Nazi welfare services offered homes to single women "to serve the campaign against abortion." The S.S. Reich Central Office for the Combatting of Homosexuality and Abortion was created in 1936 by Heinrich Himmler and Josef Meisinger, who was later executed by the Polish as "the butcher of

Warsaw". Women who were considered racially pure were invited to the huge Lebensborn facilities where they would be raped to breed for the Nazi state machine.

Women resisted these measures by continuing to obtain and perform their own abortions, and all over the Reich women risked their lives against sterilization by intentionally becoming pregnant in between the time they were sentenced, and when the actual sterilization was carried out.

As the German state prepared for war, misogynist and white supremacist policies became more and more extreme. In 1939, Jewish women were officially excluded from the abortion laws, and sterilization measures were strengthened against Romani (Gypsy), Black, disabled, queer, anti-fascist, "unskilled" and "asocial" women and men. At the same time, pro-breeding policies were increasingly enforced among aryan women. The 1938 marriage laws had granted husbands non-consensual divorce for an array of reasons including "refusal to conceive" and the "resortion to illegal means to try to prevent a birth." Women working in munitions factories were forbidden to quit unless they were pregnant and ready to raise a good aryan child (they were then labelled *sauckelfrauen* or "excuse takers"). Anyone attempting to obtain or perform abortions were increasingly criminalized; by 1943, abortion providers were punished with nothing short of the death penalty.

In the concentration camps, nazi pronatalist philosophy reared its terrible underbelly. Jewish women found pregnant were immediately killed both to prevent the birth of more Jewish people and to eliminate any burden on the camps' rigorous slave labour schedule. To save themselves, Jewish women provided abortions to each other without light, clean towels, sinks or anesthetic. One Auschwitz survivor, Gisela Bloch, asked her life hundreds of times to prevent camp authorities from discovering the pregnancies of her sister inmates.

Because Britain, Canada and the United States were on the winning side of World War II, they were able to claim the moral high ground when the Nazi concentration camps were revealed to the world. Nine million people had been systematically murdered in the name of "racial hygiene". Doctors, scientists, artists,intellectuals, workers, women -- most Germans participated in this ethnic cleansing to some degree, led by the ruling elite.

Less known today is that the Nazi programs were based on similar theories and programs advocated and put in place in Britain and North American, decades before Hitler came to power.

Colonial North American Roots of Nazi Eugenics

"I propose that 100,000 morally degenerate Britons should be forcibly sterilized and others put in labour camps to halt the decline of the British race."

--Winston Churchill (1874-1965)

From before the turn of the century until the end of the second world war, eugenics was the main belief system of middle and upper-class North American whites determined to maintain their control over Canadian and U.S. society. A multifaceted movement, eugenics reduced social unrest, unemployment, disease and poverty to a single factor -- "bad breeding".

Prominent scientists came out of their labs to lobby for various causes, alongside doctors, social workers, intellectuals, industrialists and politicians. They backed laws limiting or completely cutting off immigration from anywhere outside northern Europe. They labelled poor people, people of colour and people with disabilities as genetically inferior.

On that basis they lobbied against publicly funded heath care, public education, and other social programs. By arguing for less tax dollars spent on these groups of "degenerates", they quickly gained a wide basis of support among the white middle and upper classes.

The eugenics movement was particularly obsessed with stopping "undesirable" people from having children -- especially because they assumed that the "undesirables" were "breeding like rabbits" and would soon overrun the society. "Undesirables" included First Nations peoples, people of colour, poor people, homeless people, people with disabilities, sex trade workers, and prisoners. American psychiatrist Francis Goddard said of a poor white couple who had one "feeble-minded" daughter: "They are multiplying at twice the rate of the general population, and not until we recognize this fact, and work on this basis, will we begin to solve those social problems."

The eugenicists succeeded in having laws passed in Canada and the United States ordering that inmates of psychiatric institutions and prisons be sterilized against their will. The German Nazi used these laws as the basis for their Hereditary Health Courts. In the U.S. over 20,000 people were sterilized against their will between 1907 and 1935, and 20 states still have these laws on the books.

At the same time, politicians were ranting about "race suicide" -- the falling birth rate among middle and upper class white women. Nevertheless, the eugenicists found allies among middle-class "feminists" who supported legalization of birth control (especially for poor women). Planned Parenthood itselfincluded eugenicists on its board of directors, recruited by former socialist Margaret Sanger.

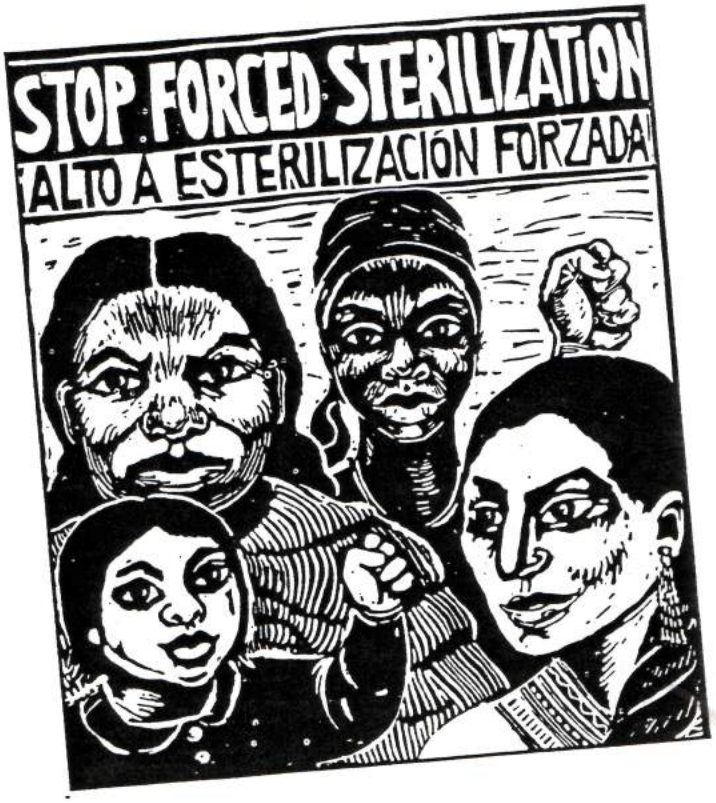
In Canada, women played key roles in movement, such as medical doctor Madge Thurlow Macklin, an original organizer of the Eugenics Society of Canada. She travelled to Germany in 1937 to consult with doctors specializing in "mental health" and sterilization, and returned a strong supporter. Other allies included Agnes McPhail, Canada's first woman Member of Parliament, who in an address to the United Farm Women said, "I just wonder how long we're going to allow subnormal people to produce their kind. It is a blasphemy of the worst kind. You farmers -- would you want the worst type of your cattle to be seed-bearers?"

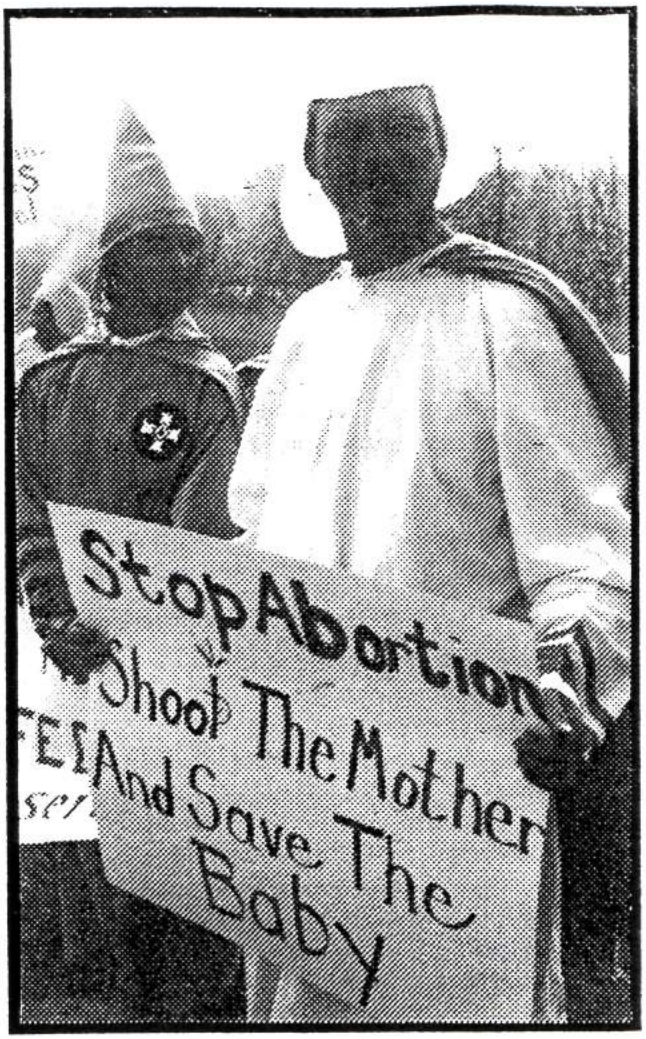
Support for eugenics crossed political lines -- from conservative bigots to supposedly "progressive" reformers. Tommy Douglas, one of the founders of the Canadian Commonwealth Federation (the forerunner of the NDP), wrote in a 1934 article entitled "Youth and the New Day": "...Youth will take a different view of eugenics than did our forefathers. Superstition will be cast aside, and those who are mentally or physically unsound will be prevented from rearing offspring to become a menace and a burden to society."

After the German concentration camps were "liberated" and the horrors of the Holocaust was revealed to the world, eugenics was exposed as a fascist theory whose "Final Solution" is genocide. It was discredited as a science and many of the psychiatrists, doctors and politicians who promoted it changed their language and went underground with their real opinions and goals.

But the theories didn't stay underground for long, and are being promoted all through the sciences and the education system today. Phillippe Rushton, a racist psychology professor at University of Western Ontario, is one of the more obvious examples. His books and articles of suit-and-tie racism claim that a racial hierarchy exists, with Asians at the top and African people at the bottom, and whites somewhere in between. His "research" is paid for by the Pioneer Fund, an outfit founded in 1937 to support eugenics propaganda. But he keeps teaching at Western, protected by a white supremacist interpretation of "academic freedom". Other areas where eugenics arguments are regularly surfacing include the environmental movement (among the Zero Population Growth fanatics), and in the debates about New Reproductive Technologies.

At the same time, "grassroots" fascist movements have been growing bolder throughout Europe and North America. Millions of people in Europe are voting for far-right parties, and they turn a blind eye when skinheads commit acts of terror against immigrants and refugees, Jewish people, queers or leftists. Neo-nazi groups don't have the same kind of political power here as they do in Europe, but they can still pose of physical threat to our safety.





Neo-Nazis in the Anti-Abortion Crusade Today

Decades of pro-choice activism paid off in the 1970s and 1980s in North America, as both Canadian and U.S. governments were pressuredto recognize a woman's right to choose when and how to have kids. The victory for free-standing clinics in Canada has been limited, leaving poor women outside of big cities with far fewer options than women in Toronto, or Vancouver. Similarly, access to good reproductive health care in the U.S. is very uneven, especially since the 1980s when the federal government cut Medicaid funding for abortion, and allowed state governments to demand parental consent for abortion to women under the age of 18. Nevertheless, the christian right didn't achieve the overall restrictions on the right to choose an abortion the way they wanted.

Because of that failure, the christian and racist right have more-or-less abandoned the legal channels for now, and have turned to more direct tactics -- targeting abortion providers and women who seek out their services. In the summer of 1992, Randall Terry of Operation Rescue mapped out the new strategy in a "prayer" rally in Montgomery, Alabama when he claimed: "We have found the weak link is the doctor. "We're going to expose them. We're going to humiliate them." At the same time, a "wanted" poster was passed through the audience, featuring Dr. David Gunn, an abortion provider in Pensacola, Florida. The poster included Gunn's photo, home address and phone number, and his weekly schedule.

The tactics of this new campaign of direct action and harassment have brought new allies into the anti-abortion movement -- people with weapons fetishes, with paramilitary training, and with experience in harassment and dirty tricks. As mainstream support for Operation Rescue-style picketing and blockades has withered, a more extremist base of support for the anti-abortion neo-crusaders has developed -- the populist/racist light. Nazis bring skills and attitudes that are much appreciated by the most terroristic elements of the anti-abortion crusade.

From the neo-nazi perspective, the anti-abortion campaign is another potential recruiting ground, another opportunity to spread their ideology. They are always on the lookout for ways to latch onto popular racism, homophobia, anti-Semitism and misogyny. This section describes some of the anti-abortion organizations and terrorist groups in the United States and Canada, with a focus on their links to white supremacists.

Operation Rescue

Founded by Joseph Foreman, Matthew Trewhella and Randall Terry, Operation Rescue (OR) is best known for its travelling roadshow of clinic blockades in Canada and the U.S. in the 1980s. As the blockades have drawn fewer people, OR changed its tactics, organizing 12 week long IMPACT Team training "schools", teaching their recruits paramilitary skills and harassment tactics practiced across the continent. They now rely on fewer people with more of the skills they want, people like Brian Kemper, their top tactical leader in California. Kemper is a "former" skinhead, still decorated with nazi tattoos included the "777" of the neo-nazi South African AWB -- Afrikaner Resistance Movement.

Another example of the kind of support OR is receiving is the financial donations of Dan and Richard Lemmons, owners of Zooport Riot Gear in Newport Beach, California. Zooport markets Charles Manson t-shirts, channelling royalties to Manson and an unspecifiedportion of their profits to OR. Zooport also paid notorious racist and homophobe Axl Rose of Guns & Roses to record one of Manson's "songs". Manson, a woman-hating serial killer whose motivation was to incite a race war, sports a swastika carved into his forehead.

Rescue America

Less than a year after the famous "wanted" poster of Dr. David Gunn was circulated in Montgomery, Rescue America's Michael Griffin took up the OR challenge. On March 10, 1993 he shot down Dr. Gunn in the parking lot of strip mall in Pensacola, Florida. Griffin was counselled throughout the case by Rescue America Regional Director John Burt, an "ex-Klansman" with a long history of racist organizing in Florida.

"While we grieve for him and for his widow and for his children, we must also grieve for the thousands of children he has murdered." **--Randall Terry, National Committee member of the U.S. Taxpayers Party and founder of Operation Rescue, on the killing of Dr. Gunn**

Defensive Action

Like many other Rescue America militants, Burt is now involved with the Defensive Action "Network". This terrorist outfit has published the now-infamous statement written by the Reverend Paul Hill, "Should We Defend Born and Unborn Children with Force," advocating the murder of abortion providers and women who have abortions. Among the thirty signers of this statement are OR founders Foreman and Trewhella, and Rev. Michael Bray, convicted of several clinic bombings in the 1980s.

After the assassination of Dr. Gunn in Pensacola, Burt and Hill began stalking the doctor who replaced him, Dr. Britton. For weeks Hill aggressively harassed clinic staff and clients, banging on windows and shouting. Police did nothing. His vicious campaign ended on July 29, 1994 when he shot down Dr. Britton and his escort in broad daylight. Hill's murder conviction on November 3, 1994 was marked by a wave of violence against clinics across the United States and Canada.

Advocates for Life Ministries

Foreman and Trewhella also founded the Advocates for Life Ministries (AFLM). Among its members is Rachelle Shannon, who was active in AFLM campaigns against Portland clinics (in 1985 four clinics were letter-bombed). American Front skinheads were commonly seen participating in clinic blockades at that time. She is currently doing a 13-year sentence for the attempted murder of Dr. George Tiller in Wichita, Kansas, in August 1993.

Life Advocate, a key publication for the militant anti-choice movement. is published by the AFLM and is edited by other signatories to Hill's declaration.

Missionaries to the Preborn

Founded in Milwaukee in 1990 by Trewhella, Foreman, and Gary McCullough, branches also exist in Wichita, Kansas and Atlanta, Georgia. Unlike OR, which travels from place to place targeting everything in its path, MTP activists focus on one city until they have achieved their goals. Four out of nine women's clinics in Milwaukee have been forced to close by their terror tactics, described in the Army of God manual (included in the appendix to this package). This manual is a detailed, practical, step-by-step guide to doing structural damage to abortion clinics and harassingworkers. The name "Army of God" is used by many otherwise anonymous anti-choice terrorists, but this manual is probably produced by people close to the MTP.

Behind these activist groups and terrorist outfits are vocal supporters and apologists -- not just in the mainline churches, but also in the christian hard right, and the populist/racist right. All over the United States, and in Canada too, rightwing grassroots groups are springing up, advocating armed resistance to a global "conspiracy" that is threatening to take over the U.S.. They may not agree as to who is behind this conspiracy; some blame the so-called "Jewish-controlled" banking system, others focus on the United Nations. But they all agree that feminists, queers, immigrants, African-Americans, Jews, the media, the Internal Revenue Service and just about everyone who dis-

agrees with them, are part of the conspiracy against the "free world". (The collapse of the Soviet Union has left the rightwing with no end of scapegoats!)

A major new group within this populist movement is the United States Taxpayer Party (USTP). Ending reproductive freedom for women is a key item on the USTP agenda. Randall Terry and Matthew Trewhella are both on the National Committee of the USTP, along with convicted clinic bomber Michael Bray, and various anti-semites and fascists, including a member of the Populist Party (David Duke ran on the Populist Party ticket in the 1988 Presidential race).

Asserting that "all civic law should emerge from biblical law", the USTP draws inspiration from the Christian Reconstructionist movement, which fantasizes about establishing a "Christian Republic" in the U.S. Under this Christian Republic, "crimes against the family" -- including homosexuality, abortion, and adultery -- would be punishable by death. Other predictable targets of Christian Reconstructionists include pornography, labour unions, welfare programs, public education, etc.

Rousas John Rushdoony, the head of the Chalcedon Foundation, a Christian Reconstruction "think"-tank in California, spoke at the USTP founding conference. Another Chalcedon board member, John Saunders III, spoke from the same panel as Aryan Nations Louis Beam, at the racist "Jubilation" conference held last August in Bakersfield, California. The Aryan Nations is a white supremacist group with armed compounds in Hayden Lake, Idaho, and eastern Pennsylvania. Their "spiritual" basis is Christian Identity -- a cult-like faith claiming that white European Christians are the true descendants of the 12 Tribes of Israel and the "real chosen people".

While not all of the far-right grassroots movements are overtly anti-Semitic, the USTP certainly is. David Shedlock, communications director of Operation Rescue in Iowa and a National Committee member of the USTP, led a demonstration against the Temple B'nai Jeshrun in Des Moines in November 1992. The mob accused Rabbi Steven Fink of being a "murderer", and an "accomplice to the American Holocaust" -- all because an abortion provider being targeting by the USTP was a member of the congregation.

At their May 1994 Wisconsin state convention, the 100-page "Principles Justifying the Arming and Organizing of a Militia" were distributed to participants for $1. A month later, USTP membersRobert and Mary Briedis organized weapons training exercises on their farm for 20 members of both the USTP and the Missionaries to the Preborn including Matthew Trewhella. Like the Christian Patriot and armed militia movement, of which the USTP is a part, they are preparing for a protracted guerilla war against their enemies.

The anti-abortion movement in Canada has its fascist face too. Closely tied to many of the U.S.-based groups described here, Canadian anti-abortion zealots are also tied into local neo-nazi groups. White supremacists hold positions of authority in many anti-choice groups in the country.

Campaign Life Coalition

Campaign Life Coalition (CLC) is the "mainstream" national anti-choice organization in Canada. Their rightwing programme opposes abortion under any circumstances including rape, incest -- even if the life of the mother is in danger. They are also opposed to government spending for public health nurses, condom machines in high school and all forms of contraception(!). From their national headquarters in Toronto at 53 Dundas Street East (just east of Yonge), CLC publishes their monthly propaganda rag, "The Interim", as well as other hate literature. They have strong links to Randall Terry's Operation Rescue -- which worked out of the CLC office to organize the wave of Canadian clinic blockades in 1988-89. In another well-known incident, CLC funded Jean-Guy Tremblay's 1989 legal fight to prevent his ex-lover Chantal Daigle from having an abortion.

Neo-nazis and white supremacists have regularly participated in CLC pickets in Vancouver and Edmonton and have been made to feel quite at home. Some incidents:

- In May 1988, eight KKK members picketed with the CLC outside a clinic in Edmonton. They were welcomed by a leading picketer, and it took the CLC a full day to distance themselves from the Klan.
- Throughout 1989, White Aryan Resistance member Barry Wray picketed the Everywoman's Health Clinic more often than any other anti-choice zealot -- averaging three times a week. He was often aggressive, and sometimes armed. Wray, who also boasts of his friendship with

Holocaust-denier and nazi propagandist Ernst Zundel, was a key member of the Surrey-Delta Pro-Life Society (in a suburb of Vancouver), and publisher of the far-right *Life Gazette*. Today he is the president of the Melville Pro-Life Association in Saskatchewan, and a regular correspondent for the CLC monthly, *The Interim*.

· Other nazis who picketed the Everywoman clinic around this time included Ernie Britskie, an organizer with the Aryan Resistance Movement, as well as the owner of a local "Christian Identity" bookstore.

· In April 1989, American members of the fascist Lyndon Larouche organization set up a literature table at the regular CLC picket at Everywoman's Health Centre in Vancouver.

Just as Operation Rescue was shifting tactics from mass blockades and big actions to more focused and covert operations, the CLC followed in their footsteps. The March 1992 issue of *TheInterim* outlined a campaign of escalating attacks, urging members to steal log sheets from hospital operating rooms, and to infiltrate pro-choice groups and target their members. The homes of abortion providers and their clinics have been regularly picketed by CLC in more than 10 cities across Canada. The Vancouver home of Dr. Garson Romalis was repeatedly picketed in the months leading up to his attempted assassination on November 8, 1994. An assailant toting an AK-47 assault rifle fired several rounds through the door of the Romalis home while the doctor was eating break-fast. Romalis survived a life-threatening bullet wound, which severed his femur and femoral arteries in his upper left thigh.

After this attack, clinic workers in Vancouver went public with information about harassment and death threats they hae been subjected to for months. One particularly zealous crusader is Gordon Watson. Before becoming obsessed with women's reproductive rights, Watson had been a crusader with the born-again group Youth with a Mission -- trying to convert First Nations youth on Vancouver Island to Christianity. In particular he attempted to have the Salish tradition of Spirit-Dancing banned, calling it an example of "witchcraft".

Since 1990, Watson has disrupted pro-choice events, sometimes by physically assaulting women and volunteers. He also spies on clinic workers, collecting license plate numbers and so on. In December 1994, it was revealed that Constable Steve Parker of the Delta police force had illegally run license plate numbers of cars belonging to several women workers at Everywoman's Health Centre through the national police computer system (CPIC). In this way, he got access to their home addresses and insurance records, and other private information. Steve Parker is a former treasurer of Campaign Life B.C. (Whether he had received the plate numbers from Watson is not confirmed.)

Realwomen of Canada, the Northern Foundation and the Heritage Front

An active wing of the anti-abortion movement in Canada is Realwomen, founded in 1983 by the chief legal advisor to the CLC, Gwen Landolt. Virtually all of leadership positions in the CLC are filled by Realwomen members. Although men do play some prominent roles in the group itself, Realwomen's function is to rally rightwing Christian women against reproductive freedom, along with employment equity, equal rights for lesbian and gay men, etc. When the media want an anti-feminist women's voice, they can always turn to Realwomen. Speaking at a July 1990 panel of various Canadian anti-choice groups, Rita

"In case you are not aware, the people of British Columbia are gagging on the stench of death from babies killed by abortion. The blood of all those children cries out from the ground, and it does not cry out for mercy upon the killer: it cries out for vengeance. 'Vengeance is mine' sayeth the Lord, 'I will repay.' God decrees 'you shall not suffer a murderer to live amongst you.' Capital punishment for abortionists is an idea whose time has come...

"Sooner or later I will get that information about the expenditure of public funds, to which I and the electorate are entitled, and I will use it in my campaign to implement the death penalty for serial child killers (a.k.a. 'abortionists'). When this nation realizes what has gone on in abortuaries, if the perpetrators of the child extermination policy are not then properly dealt with at a fair trial, the mob will surely lynch them."

--Gordon Watson, open letter to the B.C. Attorney General Colin Gablemann, April 28, 1994

Ann Kelly Hartmann, Director and National Secretary of Realwomen of Canada, remarked:

"...Asking a member of Realwomen whether there's a feminist conspiracy is a little bit like asking a devout Christian whether Satan exists. Based on our experience in trying to combat the radical feminist menace in Canada, we have certainly run into the tentacles of what can only be a conspiracy many, many, many times."

Realwomen also has several connections, at high levels, with neo-nazi groups. In 1989, Realwomen B.C. President Peggy Steacy spoke at a panel organized by the fascist Lyndon Larouche organization. Sharing the platform was Dan Wray, brother of Barry Wray and a former Klan organizer in his own right. In October 1992 her colleague, Ann Molloy (then president of Victoria Realwomen) publicly defended Holocaust-denier David Irving when he was deported from Vancouver.

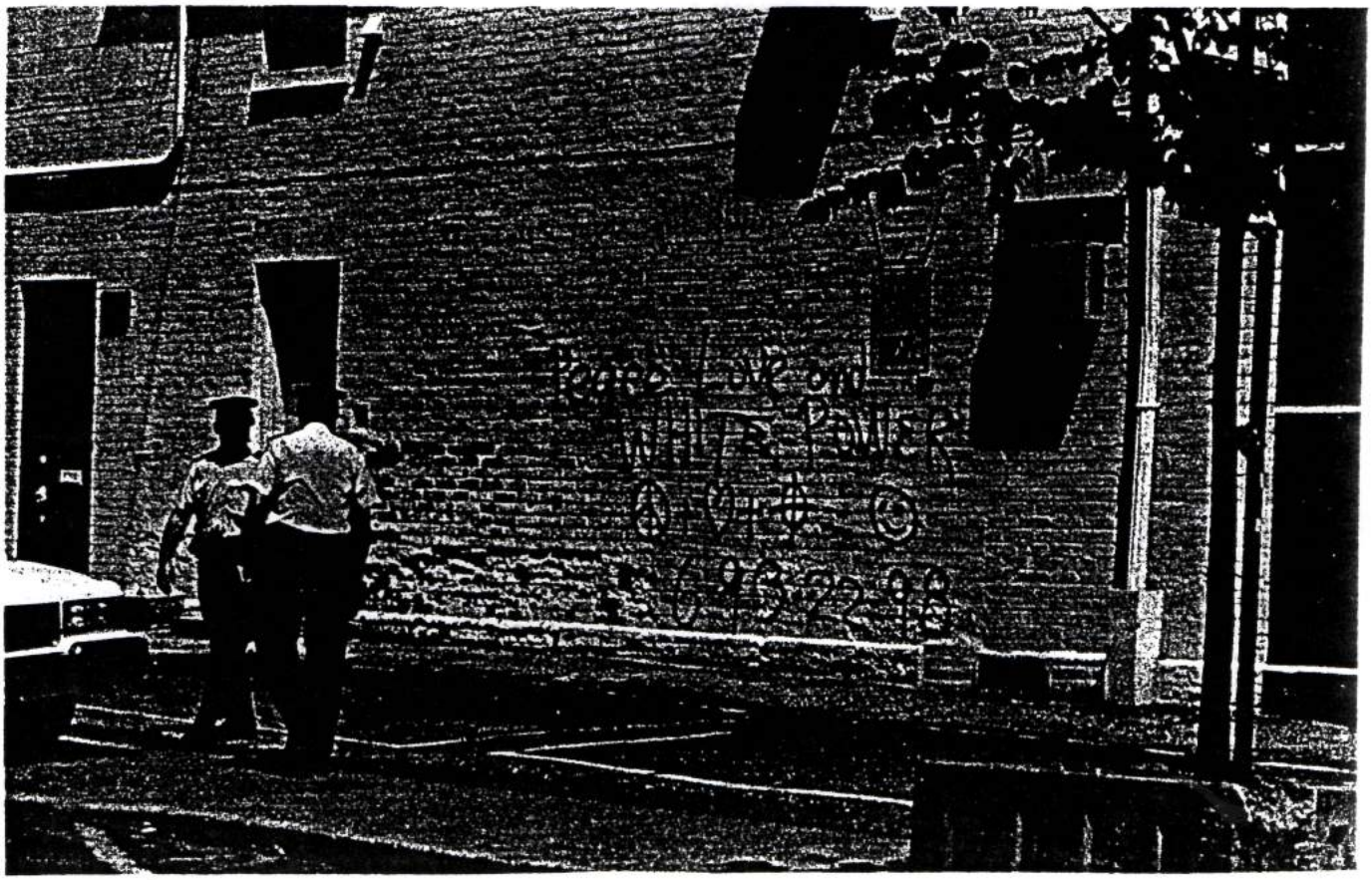
Among the most chilling connections is Ann Hartmann, quoted earlier. Widow of Paul Hartmann, a former member of the white supremacist Western Guard and the Canadian Knights of the KKK, she helped establish the Northern Foundation in 1989 to lobby in favour of apartheid in South Africa. The group's November 1989 founding conference helped to connect various white-supremacists to Wolfgang Droege, Gerry Lincoln and James Scott Dawson -- thus was spawned the Heritage Front.

Featured in the May 1992 issue of *Upfront,* the Heritage Front magazine, was an anti-abortion column written by Hartmann's nazi-skinhead son, Eric aka 'Stilts' Hartmann, declaring that whites are "at war" against abortionists. This column set the tone for the bombing of Henry Morgentaler's Toronto clinic on May 18, 1992 -- after years of CLC and Operation Rescue harassment, pickets, and blockades. White power symbols and the Heritage Front hotline were freshly painted on the wall beside the destroyed clinic within hours of the bombing.

Droege and other Heritage Front members were questioned by police regarding this act of terrorism. But no charges were ever laid -- in fact police still repeat the ridiculous theory that leftists had bombed the clinic to give the nazis a bad name!

"Mr. Irving is guilty of one thing, defending the right of free speech... Who wrote the eleventh commandment 'you must not challenge the present historical view of the second world war events?'"

--Ann Molloy, then-president of Realwomen B.C., on Holocaust-denier David Irving's deportation from Vancouver in October 1992. *The Interim,* December 1992



White power grafitti with the Heritage Front phone number after the Morgentaler clinic bombing May 18,1992.

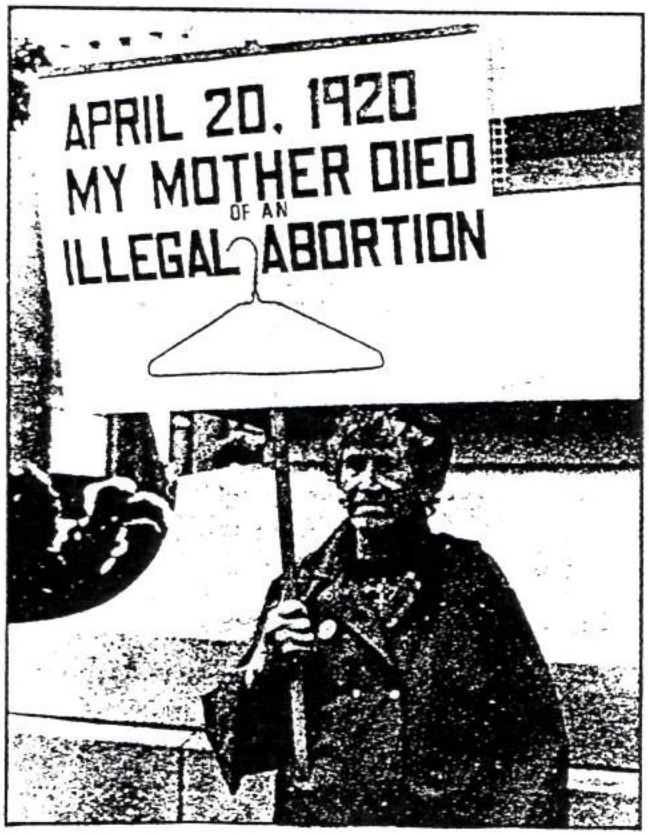
Henry Morgentaler and the Struggle for Free-Standing Abortion Clinics

Henry Morgentaler immigrated to Montreal in 1950 after surviving the Holocaust. He had watched his father shot on his birthday by Nazi soldiers and had been taken with his mother to Auschwitz and then Dachau. A member of the Jewish Socialist Youth, he had been politicized in the growing labour movement of the 1920s and 30s where women were fighting for all reproductive freedoms.

In the 1960s, Henry opened a clandestine abortion clinic in Montreal, becoming its head doctor in 1968. Two raids by the Quebec Provincial Police, the first in June of 1970 and the second in August of 1973, resulted in Henry's arrest and years of twisted court proceedings. Henry was twice found not guilty in Quebec provincial court and then convicted without retrial. He was eventually jailed and put in solitary confinement for refusing to comply with orders. In solitary he suffered a heart attack, and was sent for an indefinite stay at a local home for the aged.

After years of systemic and extra-systemic organizing by women's rights groups Henry was released in 1978 under the new "Morgentaler Amendment." Although the amendment was a victory for women's reproductive rights in Canada, Henry and those working at clinics he had opened continued to endure severe harassment by rightwing anti-choicers. Specifically targeted as a Jewish man, Henry was accused of "conspiring against white christian babies." When the Toronto clinic was bombed in May 1992, white power graffiti was found at the scene. His clinic in Edmonton was being targeted at the same time.

Within this climate, Henry continues to struggle to provide safe access to abortion for women in Canada.



Human Life International

Founded by Father Paul Marx with approval from the Vatican in 1981, Human Life International (HLI) serves as a clearinghouse for various anti-choice crusaders, Christian Reconstructionists, anti-communists and right-wing hatemongers. Today, with a $4.7 million budget and 49 branch offices in 38 countries on six continents, HLI is one of the world's most powerful anti-abortion lobbies. They boast of helping to defeat attempts to legalize abortion in Ireland, Honduras, the Phillipines, South Africa and several other countries.

Preaching "family values", HLI promotes the belief that Aboriginal people, Jewish people, Moslems, immigrants, lesbians, gays and feminists are servants to Satan. Theresa Bell, the executive director of HLI Canada, wrote to supporters recently: "Through the feminist movement, Satan still uses women for his designs," supposedly by encouraging women to kill their children "all in the name of abstract euphemisms such as 'empowerment' and 'controlling my own body'."

Echoing claims of past and present Nazis, HLI asserts that a "Jewish conspiracy" is the controlling force behind the "abortion industry". In the 1989 *Human Life International Special Report,* current HLI chairman Father Paul Marx claims that "the same segment of the Jewish community that accuses the Pope of insensitivity to the Jewish Holocaust not only condones but has more or less led the greatest holocaust of all time, the war on unborn babies."

HLI has been active in Canada since 1984. Presently their Canadian headquarters are located at 191 Granville Street in Vanier, Ontario (a suburb of Ottawa). With chapters in Calgary, Winnipeg and Antigonish, Nova Scotia they send literature, films and audio cassettes to approxi-

mately 6,000 supporters across the country. Using sensational tactics HLI members send graphic postcards and bloodied plastic fetuses to Canadian MPs, as well as participating in pickets of women's clinics and service providers' homes. (Prior to his January 1995 shooting spree, John Salvi had distributed photographs of bloodied aborted fetuses produced by HLI at his Catholic church in Brookline, Massachusetts.)

Campaign Life Coalition plays an active role in HLI, and will be participating heavily in HLI's 14th annual World Conference on Love, Life and the Family, to be held in Montreal in April 1995. CLC President James Hughes will host a workshop on "Abortion in Canada", along with his long-time colleague, Father Alphonse De Valk. Former editor of *The Interim,* De Valk was arrested several times at Operation Rescue blockades in Toronto. He is now publisher and editor of *Catholic Insight*, a right-wing Catholic rag. Their good friend Randall Terry (OR founder) will also be addressing the conference.

Together, far-right organizations like Campaign Life Coalition, Operation Rescue and Human Life International dominate and give direction to the broad anti-choice movement in North America. The common perception that the anti-abortion movement is composed of elderly christian types out to "save the children" (with a few violent extremists thrown in) is clearly a liberal myth.

In fact, the violent extremists are running the movement! And even though mainline churches dissociate themselves from the vicious tactics these groups employ, most oppose reproductive freedom for women and will never stand with women defending themselves from violent attacks by the anti-choice crusaders.

The fascist agenda of the anti-choice movement poses a continual threat to the little reproductive choice women have gained through years of struggle. By targeting doctors and politicians with propaganda, intimidation and violence, anti-choice zealots can potentially wipe out most women's rights to have an abortion, or to choose what kind of birth control methods we want to use.

True reproductive freedom is only possible when women are empowered to choose when, where and how they will bear children. Our control over our own fertility

is limited today by the fact that most of us have to rely on the male-dominated medical establishment, education system, and government for the skills and the resources to deliver children safely, or to choose not to bear children. This wasn't always the case: for thousands of years women relied on each other -mothers and grandmothers, midwives and healers -- for knowledge about herbal birth control and abortion, for other methods of performing abortion, and for delivering children. Gradually, that knowledge is being stolen from women around the world as male doctors have taken over medical care.

Abortion was only made illegal in Europe and North American in the early 20th century. It is still illegal for women to use herbs to end unwanted pregnancies, to instruct others on the use of suchherbs, or to perform menstrual extractions on themselves or each other. Up until the 1980s in Canada, it was illegal to perform a surgical abortion outside of a hospital, where women had to convince a panel of "experts" that bearing a child posed a serious risk to their health. Until women regain the knowledge and skills to safely provide good reproductive health care to each other, our choices will be controlled by the availability of medical services where we live.

The pro-choice, anti-racist and anti-fascist movements will need to come together to smash these woman-hating, bible-thumping hypocrites before they gain the political power that they so crave.

As women, we must take whatever measures necessary to ensure our reproductive freedom!!

THE ANTI-ABORTION/NEO-NAZI CONNECTION

Evidence Surfaces Linking Extremist Groups

By Tom Burghardt
Bay Area Coalition for Our Reproductive Rights (BACORR)

(San Francisco - January 22, 1995) Startling new evidence of a growing political convergence - and collaboration - among far-right proponents of anti-abortion direct action and the neo-Nazi movement in Canada and the United States, has recently surfaced.

According to an article in the Vancouver Sun, anti-racist researchers have uncovered evidence of links "between elements of the anti-abortion movement and the neo-Nazi racist right." (1)

A 400 page report by B'nai B'rith Canada indicates that "radical American right-wing groups may be camouflaging their entry into Canada by infiltrating the anti-abortion movement." (2)

Professor Stephen Scheinberg, the report's author has said that "Elements of the extreme right are moving into the anti-abortion movement with a vengeance. Anti-Semitism is a background to things that are taking place." (3)

Anti-abortion leaders have denounced the report. Ted Gerk, president of the Pro-Life Society of British Columbia said, "It's time to release the supposed links between neo-Nazi and racist groups and B.C.'s mainstream pro-life movement... to put up or shut up." (4)

Kim Bolan, a Vancouver Sun reporter, has uncovered several of the links demanded by Mr. Gerk. According to Bolan, Ann Molloy, the president of the Victoria Pro-life Society, "acknowledged in an interview that she is a supporter of the Canadian Free Speech League and was extremely upset when Holocaust denier David Irving was hauled away from a Victoria dinner she attended and later deported from Canada in 1992." (5)

While Molloy denied there are any real links between far-right anti-abortion organizations and the neo-Nazi movement, she echoed a common theme of the racist right - that Hitler's "final solution" and Holocaust against the Jewish people, is a "myth" Molloy said, "The problem is there is a group trying to give the whole world, but particularly the Germans and the white Anglo-Saxons, a guilt trip for six million deaths that didn't take place and that's primarily it." (6)

While claiming that "there are not links" and that "This far-right business is highly overrated", Molloy wrote about the David Irving incident in The Interim, an anti-abortion newspaper that portrayed Irving as a victim of "political correctness." (7)

The phenomenon is hardly limited to Canada. In the United States for example, Randall Terry, the founder of Operation Rescue, has said that "We have tried to do outreach to the black and Jewish communities", but admitted that those efforts have largely failed, "...and that he is critical of the JEWISH DOCTORS, who he believes perform a large number of abortions." (8) (emphasis added)

Tom Metzger, fuhrer of the Fallbrook, California-based, White Aryan Resistance, has said, "Almost all abortion doctors are Jews. Abortion makes money for Jews. Almost all abortion nurses are lesbians. Abortion gives thrills to lesbians. Abortion in Orange County is promoted by the corrupt Jewish organization called Planned Parenthood... Jews must be punished for this holocaust and murder of white children along with their perverted lesbian nurses." (9)

Meanwhile, the Denton, Texas-based anti-abortion organization, Life Dynamics Incorporated claims that 26% of all doctors who perform abortion are Jewish; an assertion that a spokesperson for Planned Parenthood has called "ludicrous." (10)

However, running with the theme of Jewish doctors "controlling the "abortion industry", Life Dynamics Incorporated has printed and distributed tens of thousands of copies of an overtly-racist and anti-Semitic "comic book," Bottom Feeder. One of Bottom Feeder's "jokes" implicitly favors Hitler over physicians who perform abortion:

"Q: What would you do if you found yourself in a room with Hitler, Mussolini and an abortionist, and you had a gun with only two bullets? A: Shoot the abortionist twice." (11)

Echoing the claims of the neo-Nazi movement, the "mainstream" Catholic organization, Human Life International (HLI), asserts that a "Jewish conspiracy" is the controlling force behind the "abortion industry." (12)

HLI's founder, Father Paul Marx, has written in his autobiography, "Confession Of A Pro-Life Missionary:" "Notice how many Jews led the infamous 1971 abortion-planning meeting in Los Angeles which I exposed... note the large number of abortionists (consult the Yellow Pages) and pro-abortion medical professors who are Jewish." (13)

Fr. Marx, however, does not stop there. Similar to the propaganda claims of Holocaust Revisionist's, Marx asserts that "a segment of the Jewish community... more or less led the greatest holocaust of all time, the war on unborn babies." (14) According to Planned Parenthood researchers, Karen Branan and Frederick Clarkson, HLI "resurrect[s] that most vicious piece of historical anti-Semitism: child-killing Jews." (15)

Barry Wray, president of the local Pro-Life Society in Melville, Saskatchewan, told a Vancouver Sun reporter that he is an associate of Wolfgang Droege, the founder of the white supremacist Heritage Front (HF). Wray has said he also attended a 1986 Aryan Nations meeting at Hayden Lake, Idaho; a leading center of the white supremacist and Christian Patriot movement throughout North America. (16)

Denying that Hitler's genocidal campaign against Jews was a central component of the German Reich's policy, the Aryan Nations Liberty Net claimed ten years ago, "There must be nearly 15 million sheep here in the U.S. Those controlled not only by the Jew media but are pushed by

unthinking people through peer pressure into killing their own children. We the enlightened minority must show the docile mass why these murders are happening. The word must be passed along, an alarm must be sounded. Periodic disruptions of these murder parlors can only slow down the real holocaust!!!!!" (17)

Pro-Life Society president, Barry Wray, also boasts of his close association with Ernst Zundel, one of the largest publishers of neo-Nazi literature in the world. (18)

Wray's brother Dan, a former leader of the British Columbia chapter of the Ku Klux Klan, spoke at a public meeting of the racist "white culture" group, Canada First. (19)

The April 1989 meeting was co-sponsored by the anti-abortion Life Gazette and supporters of American neo-fascist, Lyndon LaRouche at East Vancouver's Croatian Cultural Center. The topic, according to the Vanocuver Sun, was billed as "Satanism and Bolshevism." (20)

Sharing the platform with unadulterated neo-Nazis and fascists, were Peggy Steacey of the anti-abortion group, REAL Women; Elaine Stewart, of Concerned Citizens for Fetal Rights and Dignity; and Dr. Wayne Poley, editor of Life Gazette. (21)

Barry Wray, a frequent contributor to The Interim and The Christian Info-News, wrote in the September 1994 issue of The Christian Info-News, that he couldn't condemn Rev. Paul J. Hill's brutal assassination of Dr. John Bayard Britton and clinic escort, James Barrett, in Pensacola, Florida last July 29:

"If such an act cannot be condoned, can we as Christians condemn it? Do we not in condemning it judge ourselves in greater condemnation as individuals and collectively as a nation for abortions to go on year after year?" (22)

After the November 8 assassination attempt on the life of Dr. Garson Romalis, in Vancouver, Allan Dutton, of the Canadian Anti-Racism Education and Research Society, said there "is no doubt" that anti-abortion and extreme right are overlapping movements. (23)

Dutton went on to say, "There is no question that arms are circulating within the religious right and within the racist right. It is an extreme element within the anti-abortion movement that is linked to the far-right and the racist right." (24)

Warren Kinsella, in his 1994 book, "Web of Hate", describes another far-right outfit, the Northern Foundation, "as an umbrella organization of racist groups, including the Heritage Front." Ann Hartmann, a prominent leader of the Northern Foundation, has also been active in REAL Women and gave an anti-abortion speech to a REAL Woman convention in Ottawa in April, 1989. (25)

In the United States, the linkages between one of the most extreme factions of the direct action anti-abortion movement, Missionaries to the Preborn (MTP) andfar-right political parties associated with the burgeoning Christian Patriot movement, have been established by progressive researchers.

Rev. Matthew Trewhella, MTP's director, is a National Committee member of the far-right United States Taxpayers Party (USTP), chaired by Howard Phillips of The Conservative Caucus. Trewhella, an original signer of Rev. Paul Hill's Defensive Action Declaration, is a leading member of both organizations in Milwaukee, Wisconsin and nationally. (26)

Andrew Burnett, director of Advocates For Life Ministries (AFLM) and publisher of Life Advocate magazine, is another individual with extensive ties to the USTP. On numerous occasions, racist skinheads, members of the neo-Nazi American Front, have blockaded women's clinics in Portland alongside AFLM cadre.

In June 1994, Trewhella and more than 20 MTP/USTP members, participated in a weapon's training exercise at the rural farm of MTP members, Robert and Mary Briedis. (27)

At the May 1994 Wisconsin state party convention of the USTP, Rev. Trewhella railed against "socialist elitists," and abortion providers. During the convention, the 100-page, "Principles Justifying The Arming And Organizing Of A Miltia", was sold for $1 to participants. Published by The Free Militia, the text is an amalgam of Christian Patriot doctrine on "biblical inerrancy" as well as a practical guide for organizing paramilitary combat cells. (28)

The USTP is an extremist organization with ideological and organizational links to the theocratic wing of the Christian Right, the "dominion theology" or Christian Reconstructionist strain of the movement. (29)

The USTP's asserts that "all civic law should emerge from biblical law", and that "The U.S. Constitution establishes a republic under God, not a democracy." (30)

Rousas John (R.J.) Rushdoony, the premier ideologist of Christian Reconstructionism has written that democracy is a "heresy" and that "Supernatural Christianity and democracy are inevitable enemies." Rushdoony addressed the founding convention of the United States Taxpayers Party. (31)

The links between the anti-abortion movement, the armed wing of the Christian Patriots, and anti-Semites, white supremacists and neo-Nazis do not stop here, however.

Iowa anti-abortion leader, David Shedlock, the communications director of Operation Rescue of Iowa and National Committee member of the USTP, led an overtly anti-Semitic demonstration at the Temple B'nai Jeshrun in Des Moines, in November 1992. Chanting, "Leave your religion, go to the true religion", the mob accused Rabbi Steven Fink of being a "murderer", an "accomplice to the American Holocaust." (32)

Dr. Herbert Remer, an abortion provider and frequent target for harassment by Shedlock's group, is a member of the synagogue's congregation.

Other prominent far-rightists who have joined the USTP National Committee include:

Randall Terry, founder of Operation Rescue. New Right fund- raising specialist, Richard Viguerie. Convicted clinic bomber, Defensive Action supporter and author of "A Time To Kill?", a book which advocates the murder of abortion providers, Rev. Michael Bray, the publisher of Capitol Area Chrisitian News in Maryland. (33)

Christian Reconstructionist ideologue, George Grant,

chairperson of the Taxpayers Party of Tennessee. Grant, the author of "Grand Illusions: The Legacy of Planned Parenthood", is a top advisor of D. James Kennedy, a prominent Christian Right televangelist. (34)

William K. Shearer, member, USTP National Committee, was a member of the National Executive Committee of the racist Populist Party, in 1984. (35)

Byron Dale, a prominent far-right activist who lectured on "The Problem of Our Debt Money System". Dale was a close friend and adviser of Posse Comitatus leader, Gordon Kahl. (36)

According to Planned Parenthood researchers, Dale sold The Revelator, at USTP events. The Revelator is a publication that rails against "Anti-Christ Banksters [sic] whose basic strategy is to instigate war and finance both sides, especially if it involves Christians killing Christians". (37)

Sharing a literature table with Byron Dale at the May 1994 Wisconsin state USTP convention, was Dan Pilla of Tax Equity. At the Christian Patriot Defense League's "white's only" Survival Conference in Licking, Missouri in June 1984, DanPilla Sr. and Jr. "delivered the tax resistance message". (38)

The Christian Patriots Defense League (CPDL) describes itself as a "corps of 'Christian soldiers'" who are "conducting Bible classes while preparing for guerilla warfare" against a "Christ-hating International Jewish conspiracy". The CPDL is a prominent organization within the contemporary Christian Patriot movement and various armed Citizen Militia groups. (39)

Jeffrey Baker, Chairman of the USTP of Florida, declared at the Wisconsin USTP convention, "Abortionists should be put to death. They are murderers". Planned Parenthood investigators identified Baker as a speaker on a recent conference program, representing the "10th Amendment Militia, Church Status". (40)

Baker, a prominent far-right activist, militia leader and anti-abortion ideologue, represents the general viewpoint of many within the movement that a vast conspiracy is taking over the United States. Elements of their paranoid, conspiratorial world-view include an obsession with the anti-communist "New World Order" proclaimed by George Bush; frequent claims that the country is on the verge of invasion by United Nations troops, and that mysterious "black helicopters" are harassing citizens.

Similar to the conspiracy theories of the John Birch Society, Jeffrey Baker identifies the "liberal" pro-capitalist, Council on Foreign Relations and the Trilateral Commission, as the leading players in a plot to destroy the United States.

Unlike the John Birch Society, however, which at least publicly, has renounced anti-Semitism and racism, Baker identifies "The Star of David" as the best expression of the presumed plot. (41)

Other prominent Christian Patriots include the Trochmann family from Noxon, Montana. John Trochmann, a "former" associate of Aryan Nations leader, Louis Beam, is the self-styled commander of the Militia of Montana (MOM). Taking Aim, the group's newsletter, has an anti-abortion tilt.

These connections are more than just theoretical. John Salvi, accused of murdering two employees of women's clinics in Brookline, MA, and wounding five others on December 30, 1995, expressed interest in participating in a "camping trip" with a Florida Militia group in 1992. (42)

While there is no direct evidence linking Salvi to the Christian Patriot movement, Salvi attended at least one meeting of the Patriot Pro-Family Movement, last November, a few miles away from Brookline clinics where the anti-abortion massacre took place. Literature distributed at the meeting included instruction in the use of the Ruger .22-caliber rifle, the weapon allegedly used by Salvi. (43)

Other books contained diagrams on how to build bombs and incendiary devices, similar to those presented in the anti-abortion, Army Of God, terrorist manual. Another book available for sale was "Improvised Weapons Of The American Underground." (44)

According to progressive researcher, Chip Berlet, literature seized from Salvi's home included posters that allegedly depict aborted fetuses and brochures produced and distributed by Human Life International. (45)

What is significant about the political convergence among various far-right, anti-Semitic, white supremacist and Christian Reconstructionist factions is the ease with which conspiratorial rhetoric slips over into violent attacks on women's clinics, health care providers, racial minorities, queers, leftists and the trade union movement. Such violence is indicative of growing evidence that we are witnessing the creation of an armed fascist nucleus throughout North America.

Under the broad umbrella of the Christian Patriot movement, groups such as Missionaries to the Preborn, Operation Rescue, the Defensive Action "network", the United States Taxpayers Party, Aryan Nations, the American Front and Canadian anti-abortion extremist groups with ties to the neo-Nazi Heritage Front, are forging ideological and operational links.

Unless challenged and confronted forcefully, those who attack women's clinics, bash queers, murder blacks and other minorities, and serve as operatives in union-busting goon squads, will only be emboldened to step-up their attacks. While the short-term goal of these groups, organizations and seemingly-disparate movements, center on the destruction of abortion access, their medium-term goal is the creation of a mass fascist movement throughout North America.

Ultimately, what unites the far-right is attaining political power. Once they have seized the reins of the State they intend to create a theocratic, totalitarian, white "Christian Republic" in the service of capitalist exploitation and oppression: the original - and contemporary - meaning of the "New World Order."

No Fear! No Silence!
Reproductive Rights By Any Means Necessary!
The Struggle Continues...

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42. Sarah Tipitt, "New Team: Anti-abortion activists and militias. Salvi case evidence suggests link; books on bombs and guns at recent meeting in Massachusetts", Reuters, reprinted, San Francisco Examiner, Saturday, January 14, 1994, p. 1
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The Sisterhood Of Hate

From producing videotapes on natural child-birthing techniques to the white nurses preparing for racial Armageddon, women are entering the organized racist movement in record numbers. In the last ten years the racist movement has experienced a new and deadly growth with both young men and women joining these legions of hate. Long the exclusive domain of white males over 30, the image of organized hate is rapidly changing. Traditionally, women would join the racist movement at the behest of their husbands and boyfriends. Starting in the late 1980s, women aged 14-25 started entering into organized hate groups, often bringing their children with them. This influx of young women into the racist movement is providing racism with a femme face, a new face to mask old hatreds.

As the former national spokesman and political coordinator for the neo-nazi Christian Identity church known as the Church of Jesus Christ Christian/Aryan Nations, I traveled throughout the Pacific Northwest and Tennessee spreading the Aryan Nations doctrine of hate. Wherever I traveled, young women played an important role. These women covered the spectrum of the racist movement from the politically minded women of the Aryan Women's League (AWL) to the women practicing the Christian Identity doctrine of polygamy.

Valkyries And Feminists

The Aryan Women's League, together with the women of the skinhead group known as American Front, is representative of the social and political activism not normally associated with organized racism. Liz ("Valkyrie") Bullis, the one-time secretary of the skinhead group American Front, is armed with wealth, intelligence and a gun and is symbolic of the new racist women of the 1990s. Expelled from Oxford University in Great Britain for racist activities, Bullis' resume of hate activities is quite extensive. Welding a club in a brawl with anti-racist protesters at a San Francisco park, joining hands with militant anti-abortionists, Bullis led 22 skinheads in a public demonstration against "Jewish genocide against the white race", i.e., abortions. Combining political organizing skills with a flair for the media, Bullis was featured on the front cover of Village Voice attired in skinhead garb and brandishing an assault weapon. Bullis has organized and is affiliated with many racist organizations. Presently, she is organizing the racist troops in Washington with her live-in boyfriend, Justin Dwyer who is the former leader of Aryan Nations in the state of Washington. Bullis' influence within the women's racist movement is evident. As a woman in a male-dominated movement, Bullis has shown that the racist movement is ready to accept the educated upscale racist women of the 1990s.

Utilizing some of Liz Bullis' media skills, the Aryan Women's League has become high tech and politically adept. The Aryan Women's League is the largest women's organization within the organized hate movement. Many of the women associated with the Aryan Women's League are among the most educated in the racist movement. Its leaders and founders brought together both a college education and a racial pedigree. Lynn Metzger, the daughter of Tom Metzger, is well-schooled in the doctrines and tactics of militant racial organizing. Her father is the founder of America's most violent skinhead organization, White Aryan Resistance (WAR). Tom Metzger, a TV repairman, puts the racist message on the airwaves in weekly programs aired on cable-access television across the country. Lynn Metzger, along with Karen Wagner, have produced videos on a wide range of topics, from positions on the environment to practicing safe sex and child-rearing information, all with a racial slant. The Aryan Women's League, together with POWAR (a Portland, Oregon skinhead group) and led by Liz Bullis, picketed the Women's Health Center in Portland, Oregon. The racist's position on abortion is that abortion is a Jewish plan to exterminate the white race, while at the same time, demanding that all women of color be sterilized. All people of color are labeled animals and, therefore, abortion for women of color is put forward as "animal control".

Liz Bullis and the women of the Aryan Women's League do not consider themselves as auxiliaries to the male-dominated racist movement. In that regard, as an organization, these women are treated with respect and equality. As individual women in the home setting, her man is still lord and master. Fighting alongside their men in brawls and the picket lines, these dedicated young women are stepping up to the front line as equals with their male counterparts.

White Nurses And Martyrs

Repairing gunshot wounds, fixing broken limbs and serving their men, the women of the army of Israel, a Christian Identity skinhead group in Utah, are busy preparing for racial Armageddon. Known as the White Nurses, they are fashioning themselves into the Clara Bartons of the racist movement and adherents of the racist faith, Christian Identity. Christian Identity is a bible-based faith that teaches that the white Aryans are the true sons and daughters of Yahweh (God). Christian Identity also teaches that the Jewish people are the children of Satan and people of color are the beasts of the field, commonly referred to as "mud people". This faith of racism and hatred is responsible for the murder of law enforcement agents and bombings, mostly in the Pacific Northwest. Due to the religious nature of Identity, women are expected to be subservient to their men. Women of the Identity faith spend most of their time raising large families and home schooling their children. At Christian Identity gatherings, the women prepare and serve the meals and plan their next child.

Within the organizational structure of Christian Identity churches or political organizations, women are either secretaries or Sunday school teachers, correlating newsletters and magazines and standing behind their men. Christian

Identity believers join their brethren in the fundamental right wing by calling for a return to "family values". These so-called "values" would destroy the families of all people not born white.

Breeding Hatred

The racist movement consists of many different and diverse organizations from followers of Hitler to the believers of Christian Identity. Regardless of their own individual preferences, the women of the racist movement are providing the overall racist movement with an infrastructure. Corresponding with those in prison for racially-inspired crimes, referred to as POWs, collecting clothes and toys for the children of these prisoners, the Family Assistance Project (FAP) is a priority for these young racists. In many instances, the women of the racist movement are providing and maintaining the hearth and home providing stability and guaranteeing the birth of the next generation of organized hatred.

Changes

This information is the result of my involvement of many years in the racist movement. I had been a closet nazi, receiving literature from various racist organizations such as Aryan Nations and the Ku Klux Klan and read them with a passion. So when the opportunity came that made it possible for me to make the leap from reader to warrior, I felt certain a higher destiny was calling me. From everything that I had read and heard about the racist movement, I felt that I was more than prepared for whatever task and duty that would be asked of me. But nothing prepared me for the experiences that were to come my way over the next two years, experiences that would change my life forever.

In those two short years, I went from doing guard duty to becoming the public spokesman for the Aryans. For the first time, everything in my life seemed to have purpose. That is, until I was told that my youngest son would have to be murdered because he was born with a cleft palate, a genetic defect. Like a light going on, I soon started having doubts about the things I was doing and saying. In the summer of 1992, I came to the realization that I could no longer believe that what I was doing was right.

Since leaving behind the racist movement, I have been working to counter the message of hate, to do something positive after so many years of the negative. I feel that it is my responsibility to use my knowledge of racism and the racist movement to counter the message of hate. I can't change the things that I have done. I apologize to all if my hatred and racism affected you in any way. Change is challenging. It is not something completed overnight. Challenging and questioning fear and stereotypes never ends for all of us.

Floyd Cochran

AN ISSUE FOR EVERYONE

ABORTION IS AN ISSUE FOR EVERYONE, NOT THE "LEFT" OR THE "RIGHT". IT IS AN ISSUE FOR ANYONE WHO CARES FOR THE SANCTITY OF HUMAN LIFE.

We agree that a woman has a right to govern her own body, but a person's right logically ends where another's begins - in this case the right of the baby to live. This is true regardless of whether the child will be born into poverty. Don't poor children have the right to grow-up as anyone else? The real problem is that of poverty and the break-up of the family unit.

The family is the basis of any healthy society, but today it is being broken-up and degraded by materialism, anti-culturalism and sexual perversion. The results are clear to see: divorce, child and spousal abuse, alcoholism and drug addiction.

The family is vulnerable to the power of the State and corporations. Individuals and families alike have less and less control over their daily lives.

First, we must realize that it is the System itself which has caused these problems. To try to change these things within the System is a waste of time. The politicians will never take a stand because they are more concerned with money than with Morality and Truth.

The real solution: communities must set up their own power structures so that individuals may have greater control over their lives and the lives of their children. Our organization, **The Canadian Front**, offers the way of doing this. **For more information, write to:**

The Canadian Front
P.O. Box 30025, Victoria, B.C. V8X 5E1

Hate-literature from the white-supremacist Canadian Front, plastered on the windows of Everywoman's books & U of Victoria

3. Dialectics of Repression: Anti-Abortion Low-Intensity Warfare Today.

Strategic requirements determine the tactical methods employed by the direct action anti-abortion movement. Since destruction of women's access to reproductive health care is their immediate intent, one can expect the movement's tactics will reflect this goal.

The eclipse of "rescue" as a "pro-life" tactic by militant pro-choice defense, has forced many proponents of direct action to revert to the strategy of the mid 1980's -- open terrorism and aggressive violence. Such tactical operations today, however, are more sophisticated and increasingly vicious, as **individual** women and providers are frequent targets of attack by trained cadre. This should not surprise us since tactical knowledge and expertise is being systematically shared and applied by the hard-core "remnant." While we can hypothesize that Action for Life, PLAN, or Operation Rescue regional and national conferences are **informal** networking venues for sharing tactical information, the trend towards **formalizing** their training in order to create a second-tier leadership cadre, will inevitably result in a more "efficient" application of terror.

The statistical evidence gathered by the National Abortion Federation (NAF) is quite startling in this respect. In looking at the data below, three, three-year periods are compared: 1984-86, 1988-90 and 1991-93. The indicators used to track the anti-abortion movement's changing strategic focus are: bombing and arson attacks; attempted bombing/arson attacks; clinic vandalism; clinic blockades and invasions; hate mail/harassing phone calls; public picketing at family planning centers and provider's homes.

A new category, **stalking**, was added by NAF in 1993. According to their definition, "stalking is the persistent following, threatening and harassing of an abortion provider, staff member, or patient **away from** the clinic."[53] While it will not be possible to compare 1993 stalking figures with those of other years, we can say that as providers come under direct attack by "no place to hide" style campaigns, stalking and other forms of harassment, such as hate mail/harassing phone calls will increase astronomically. In fact, statistics for the latter category indicate that they have.

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[53]National Abortion Federation, *op cit.*

Incidents of Violence & Disruption Against Abortion Providers, 1993[54]

(# of Incidents)	1984-86	1988-90	1991-93*
Bombing/Arson	45	16	37
Attempted Bombing/Arson	21	9	19
Vandalism	127	79	233
Blockades	0	417	170
Invasions	134	50	69
Hate Mail & Harassing Phone Calls	102	70	845
Picketing	440	268	3891
Stalking	0	0	140

* 1993 figures are from January 1 - October 14, 1993.

Clinic bombing/arson attacks dropped sharply (1988-90), compared to the previous period (1984-86), reflecting the strategic turn towards "rescue." As "rescue" proves ineffective, arson/bombing attacks begin to rise sharply (1991-93). Similarly, the precipitous increase of serious vandalism at clinics (1991-93) reflect "rescue's" failure to shut them down "peacefully." As knowledge of butyric acid use becomes widespread, clinic vandalism not only exceeds the previous **six year period** (206 incidents), but does so in less than **three years** (233 incidents).

The trend towards increased levels of violence are demonstrated by a comparison of statistics for clinic blockades. The 1984-86 period saw no clinic blockades. When Operation Rescue comes "on line" in 1988, the three year period produced, respectively: 182 incidents in 1988, 201 incidents in 1989. Mid-1989 is also the period that militant direct action by clinic defenders begins to rout OR. By 1990, total blockades had fallen to 34 incidents. While there was a gradual increase during 1991-93, overall "rescue" has been a miserable tactical failure: 1991, 41 incidents; 1992, 83 incidents; by 1993, the total number of blockades had fallen to 46. However, unlike public mass mobilizations that rely on church-based support, clinic invasions by "minutemen" teams are generally open only to those well-known to local or regional leadership cadre. It is quite possible that

[54] *Ibid.*

clinic invasions will become an outlet for aggressive actions by newly formed local groups, especially as their leaders become more proficient at running such operations.

Public picketing at clinics, medical offices and provider homes has increased at an alarming rate. Statistics for this category, as well as those for hate mail/harassing phone calls, demonstrate two trends operating simultaneously: first, as "rescue" comes on line (1988), "peaceful" picketing drops sharply - 440 incidents (1984-86) vs. 268 incidents (1988-90). As arrests soar due to public pressure and "rescue" is outflanked by clinic defense, picketing escalates at a tremendous rate with 3891 total incidents (1991-93). The same can be said for hate mail/harassing phone calls: 1984-86, 102 incidents; 1988-90, 70 incidents; 1991-93, 845 incidents.

Significantly, the second trend demonstrates that the national movement is in the process of transforming itself into numerous local and regional groupings waging sustained picketing/propaganda campaigns at clinics as well as stepping-up attacks against providers. By means of low-level harassment activities framed as "peaceful, prayerful outreach to women in 'crisis pregnancies,'" the direct action anti-abortion movement is attempting to re-build their shattered activist base. They are accomplishing this by drawing in new layers of activists and providing them with low-risk arrest venues. Last July's "Cities of Refuge" campaign was a failure in terms of total number of activists at the clinics. However, since its wrap-up, we have observed a dramatic increase of picketing at clinics in the S.F. Bay Area. The creation of more aggressive local groups has become a top priority for Operation Rescue of California. Christian Action Ministries (CAM), the Stand Up for Life youth group based in San Jose, and Castro Valley's Community Life Coalition (CLC), are a direct result of intensive organizing in the Bay Area by national anti-abortion leaders such as Chet Gallagher. These organizations surfaced as separate entities in the wake of "Cities of Refuge." Michael Ross, a "No Place to Hide" team captain, and Kim Alvarenga, an IMPACT team "graduate," are organizing these local efforts, with some success.[55]

Collectively, theirs' is a multi-pronged strategy which has combined terrorism, direct action, a turn towards grass-roots organizing, and a significant plunge into electoral politics. The direct action wing of the anti-abortion movement has intersected the broader Christian Right, especially on the electoral front. The convergence of these trends demonstrate a shift towards a **classic fascist organizing strategy**: terror on the one hand, and a leap into the political "mainstream" on the other.

ORN leaders, Randall Terry and Patrick Mahoney, have worked closely with the Christian Coalition, the Coalition on Revival, and with Paul Weyrich's Free Congress Foundation. The stated purpose of this collaboration is to use the Christian Defense

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[55]Frontline News: Action Report from Operation Rescue of California. January 1993. Anaheim, CA, Vol. 5, No. 1, p.2

Coalition, and especially ORN's Joshua Project, as a training venue for entry by OR cadre into electoral politics.[56] Locally, CAM has worked closely with Jay Grimstead and other COR activists during the last election.[57] This trend must be monitored closely. Potentially, it provides us with an opportunity to expose the far-flung connections among Christian Right extremist groups such as COR and OR. We may also glean valuable information regarding their financial links to corporate sponsors and political power brokers embedded in both capitalist parties.

* * * *

Anti-abortion low-intensity warfare tactics include a wide range of psychological operations (PSYOPS), that are used to advance movement goals: destruction of women's access to reproductive health care.

PSYOPS tactics - extreme harassment, stalking, use of "wanted" posters, hate mail, telephone threats and the selective targeting of patient or provider family members -- seek to foster a climate of psychological anxiety and dread among those victimized by such attacks. Furthermore, use of PSYOPS as a tactical modality, is a means to buttress the open violence and terrorism brought to bear against individual patients, providers or pro-choice activists. Uncertainty over whether or not one will be the target of a terror attack tends to create a climate of mistrust and paranoia: these are intended effects of such operations.

Three interconnected projects initiated by Mark Crutcher and the Lewisville, Texas-based Life Dynamics, Inc. can be situated along the psychological warfare continuum. Examples include the bogus "Project Choice" survey sent to abortion providers; the despicable anti-Semitic Bottom Feeder "comic book," mailed to 34,000 medical students, as well as the recent "Spies for Life" campaign. As the epigram on page one of this report demonstrates, Crutcher's recruitment of espionage operatives against abortion providers has been promoted by Robertson's Christian Coalition, through the placement of fund-raiding ads in the Christian American tabloid.

Another component of anti-abortion psychological operations concern attempts to actively disrupt and discredit the work of pro-choice clinic defense groups. Recently, a number of organizations have reported infiltration by anti-abortion operatives. Oftentimes, such individuals rise to important leadership or tactical positions within the

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[56]Sara Diamond, *Trench Tactics on the Anti-Abortion Front.* Z Magazine. December 1992, pp. 40-41

[57]Christian Action Ministries, Calendar. Oct-Nov 1993, San Jose, Ca

targeted group. Once they have established their credibility, they undergo a sudden, inexplicable "conversion" and surface as anti-abortion spokespersons.[58]

Unsurprisingly, other pro-choice activists have been targets of COINTELPRO-style smear campaigns by right-wing private investigators posing as "experts" on Operation Rescue. Chip Samms is one such individual.[59]

The similarities to tactics employed by the U.S. Government against domestic and regional dissidents are striking. Similar methods were an important component of U.S. intervention in target countries, notably Central America during the 1980's or in Haiti today.[60] The Christian Right was an active partner of the U.S. Government during its extensive propaganda campaigns against Nicaragua, using their media empires as an

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[58]Two cases come to mind: Kathi Hudson of the Washington Area Clinic Defense Task Force (WACDTF) claims to have had a "born again" experience as a result of efforts by Randall Terry and Jeff White. More recently, one Judith Fetrow has claimed to have been a BACORR member with extensive ties to the left in San Francisco. Fetrow made this claim on a Christian Right radio talk-show in Wichita, KS. However, a search through our database as well as interviews with founding members of BACORR failed to turn up anyone by this name.

[59]Fight Back Network; New York; September 11, 1993. Report on Recent Political Attacks on Pro-Choice Forces. During the Baton Rouge clinic defense campaign in July 1992, Samms gave the name of known OR infiltrator, Kathi Hudson, as a reference in order to obtain housing with a pro-choice person. Samms set-up surveillance equipment in that person's home. Before being asked to leave, he hold his host that he had infiltrated both pro-choice and anti-abortion groups and that he intended to build a database on reproductive right's activists. He has made numerous unsubstantiated claims that pro-choice clinic defense groups "instigate violence." Samms has met with at least one Planned Parenthood affiliate and with some pro-choice groups in order to obtain information on activists from diverse organizations including Refuse & Resist!, some chapters of the National Organization for Women (NOW), the sectarian National Women's Rights Organizing Committee (NWROC), and BACORR. In one instance, he asked for help in identifying anti-abortion activists but then presented photos of pro-choice clinic defenders. Samms claims to work with the Florida Department of Law Enforcement, but in all likelihood, he is a private right-wing operative or police contract employee. Such activities are purposely disruptive and divisive. They have had a chilling effect on coalition-building across the country. Samms' disruptive activities are intentional attempts to divide our movement. DO NOT COOPERATE WITH CHIP SAMMS!

[60]Dennis Bernstein and Howard Levine: *The CIA's Haiti Connection.* San Francisco Bay Guardian, November 10, 1993, pp. 16-17

outlet for illegal State Department "public diplomacy."[61] Other examples include the FBI's infamous COINTELPRO disruption program against dissident political groups, notably the Black Panther Party and American Indian Movement.[62] Additional programs include those initiated by the Department of Defense; in particular, the Army's Special Operations Group (Green Berets) or the School of the Americas.[63] Both rely on extensive PSYOPS training as a component of low-intensity warfare interventions around the world.

These similarities are not simple accidents or coincidences. Considering that both Norman Weslin and Ronald Maxson, leaders of the violent paramilitary group, Lambs of Christ, were former Army Airborne commandos with extensive training in "special operations," should lead us to examine the background of other anti-abortion tactical "specialists." We do not currently know how many other participants in the anti-abortion direct action movement possess similar expertise nor how extensively they are sharing such knowledge with other activists.

* * * *

There is a human face to anti-abortion terror. Countless acts of violence and psychological intimidation take place daily at local clinics, in the homes of patients identified by cadre, or among the family members of providers targeted by "peaceful" picketers and unannounced home visits from religious fanatics. Below are some examples of PSYOPS currently employed across the country:

Melbourne, FL: "Born again" teen sidewalk counselors, perched on aluminum ladders adjacent to the recovery room of the Aware Woman Center for Choice, scream, "Mommy, Mommy, why did you kill me? Why did you let them pull my head off with pliers?"[64]

Wichita, KS: A physician who performs abortions at the Central Street Clinic is doused with butyric acid by a masked assailant. Members of Goddarchy Productions, a local anti-abortion group, laugh and joke with reporters after the incident.[65]

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[61]Sara Diamond. 1989, *op cit.*, pp. 161-181

[62]Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall. Agents of Repression. 1990, South End Press, Boston, MA

[63]Vicki A. Imerman. SOA-School of Assassins. Covert Action Quarterly, Washington, D.C. Number 46, Fall 1993, pp. 15-19

[64]Paul Solotaroff. *Surviving the Crusades;* Rolling Stone; October 14, 1993, p.58

[65]Life Advocate. September 1993, p.27

telephone number had been distributed throughout Florida. Twelve hours after his friend, David Gunn, is murdered, Dr. Snydle quit performing abortions.[71]

Melbourne, FL: Pat Windle, owner of the Aware Woman Center for Choice, reported that on "The day David Gunn was shot, these people" (IMPACT team trainees) "stood on my sidewalk and yelled at my daughter, 'One down bitch; how many more to go?'"[72]

Melbourne, FL: As a "class assignment" during ORN's IMPACT team training, the 13-year-old son of a clinic worker at Pat Windle's clinic, was lured to a local Burger King by two women, both IMPACT team trainees. The youth was informed both he and his mother would "burn in hell" for the work she was doing. The 13-year-old expressed fear that they were going to kidnap him. Both women left the training and police have no suspects.[73]

South Bend, IN: The home of Marne Greening, co-owner of the Women's Pavilion, was picketed by activists from the violence-prone group, Collegians Activated to Liberate Life (CALL), a youth front of Joseph Scheidler's Pro-Life Action Network. The home picketing was part of CALL's "Alternative Spring Break." During the week-long series of events, the locks of the Friendship Family Planning Clinic were glued shut. Patients assembled outside the building were verbally harassed by CALL or OR-Indiana sidewalk counselors as police looked on, refusing to intervene.[74]

Shalimar, FL: Sandra Sheldron, a nurse at the Family Planning Clinic in fort Walton, had Jack Hinesley, a "rescue missionary," arrested for stalking. Hinesley approached Sheldron and her husband, pointed his index finger and thumb to resemble a gun and said, "bang, bang." This was March 11, the day after David Gunn was murdered. During an earlier incident, Hinesley temporarily blinded the nurse with high-powered flash equipment as she prepared to exit the clinic's driveway onto busy Highway 98.[75]

Redding, CA: Many of the movement's most egregarious acts of terror are perpetrated away from major urban centers. Redding, California has been the site of some of the worst incidents of violence against women's rights in the entire state. The toleration of venomous hate crimes against women by local police and Redding's political

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[71]Elizabeth Mitchell. *Under Siege;* Spin, October 1993, p.72

[72]Paul Solotaroff, *op cit.,* p.62

[73]Ann Baker, *op cit.,* IMPACT Team Tactics.

[74]Lorraine Jamieson. Life Advocate. June 1993, pp. 16-17

[75]Life Advocate. June 1993, p.33

Omaha, NE: Anti-abortion zealot, Sharon McKee, is arrested for stalking Dr. James T. Howard. McKee had followed and harassed the physician for more than a year. She relentlessly dogged him at the airport where he commutes weekly as well as at the clinic where he works.[66]

Dobbs Ferry, NY: During a clinic blockade organized by Operation Goliath, groups of up to 10 "rescue missionaries" targeted individual women unable to enter the clinic. The door locks had been super-glued during the initial assault. Surrounded by zealots, the women were taunted and harassed by screaming sidewalk counselors.[67]

Madison, WI: Members of the University of Wisconsin Pro-Life Action League, affiliated with Scheidler's group, picketed the medical school and the apartments of medical students attempting to learn the abortion procedure. The names of students working at a local women's health center appeared on picket signs. Nancy Beatty, co-president of the group, vowed: "If they refuse to stop their deadly training, we want them to know that we will not stand by and let them destroy the lives of innocent babies."[68]

Kansas City, KS: Shotgun blasts were fired into the home of Dr. Robert Crist while he, his wife and son were asleep. Windows were shattered and shotgun pellets scarred the walls of their home. Dr. Crist stated: "There's no doubt in my mind it was the (anti-abortion) protesters," who were responsible for the incident. Crist said he's been harassed repeatedly by the fanatics.[69]

Robbinsdale, MN: Clinic workers discovered a 20 pound propane tank March 20 outside the Robbinsdale clinic. Someone had run a hose into the furnace air intake duct. Fortunately, the furnace had been turned off and did not explode. During an earlier incident last fall, a hole was chopped into the roof of the building and gasoline poured in; however, the incendiary device dropped through the hole failed to ignite.[70]

Central Florida: The 82-year-old mother of Dr. Frank Snydle, an abortion provider, was phoned by a man claiming he was a highway patrol officer. The elderly woman, suffering from a severe heart ailment, was informed by the caller that her only son had been killed in a car accident. "Frank Snydle" wanted posters with the woman's home address and

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[66]Life Advocate. October, 1993, p.7

[67]*Ibid.*, p.25

[68]Greg Chesmore. Life Advocate. July 1993, p.20

[69]Life Advocate. July 1993, p.40

[70]Life Advocate. July 1993, p.27

establishment have only encouraged the zealots, seriously compromising women's ability to obtain reproductive health care.

Redding's Feminist Women's Health Center (FWHC) has been firebombed three times in the past six years. In June 1992, the clinic was burned to the ground and remained closed for more than seven months. Women in mostly rural, conservative Shasta County were forced to drive hours to other facilities in order to obtain abortion services. During this same period in 1992, nine women's clinics were firebombed in California, Oregon and Nevada.[76]

Ronald Walters is an anti-abortion fanatic with a long violent history of harassment against the patients, employees and volunteer clinic escorts at the FWHC facility. On October 20, 1993, Walters pled guilty in federal district court for mailing a death threat to Dr. Bruce Steir, a FWHC provider. Walters' letter read:

> *DEAR DOCTOR BRUCE, GOOD BYE*
>
> *"testify that he has cursed both God and the king.*
> *Then take him out and stone him to death."*[77]

There is a political context for Walters' death threat, one which indicates extensive ties between Redding's anti-abortion network and other groups throughout the country. Ronald Walters did not emerge spontaneously from the void. He is an associate of John Bell, an Operation Rescue of California organizer. According to OR-C publications, Bell was to head their efforts to establish a branch of Missionaries to the Preborn in California.[78] Bell has led picketing and other forms of patient/provider harassment against FWHC for years, organizing anti-abortion zealots directly from the North Valley Baptist Church, with the active encouragement of its pastor, the Rev. Royal Blue.[79]

During the period the clinic was being re-built, Walters picketed the site almost every Friday. In November, during an altercation with construction workers, the clinic director, Katrina Cantrell, called police. After the incident, Walters began to target

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[76]NAF, 1992, *op cit.*

[77]United States of America v. Ronald M. Walters; CR-S-93; 374 WBS 18:867-S. FILED September 2, 1993 in The United States District Court For the Eastern District of California, Sacramento, Calif.

[78]Frontline News: Action Report from Operation Rescue of California. Anaheim, CA. November 1992. Vol. 4, No. 6, p.2

[79]Kim Fortune. President, Shasta County Pro-Choice Coalition. November 1993, personal communication.

Cantrell. In a sworn affidavit to the United States Attorney, Cantrell says that Walters, "has repeatedly harassed me personally, and I have become concerned for my physical safety." [80] Cantrell goes on to report,

> *Walters has repeatedly said threatening things to me, including "your time is up," and "I know where you live."*[81]

Severely injured in an auto accident July 13, Cantrell was targeted by Walters and two unnamed female companions while the clinic director was recovering at Redding's Mercy Hospital. Walters' two associates had to pull him from Cantrell's room when she recognized him and began to scream.[82] As a result of the incident, she was forced to move to a private room under an assumed name. The hospital posted a security guard at the woman's door. Walters' reputation for violence was such that friends stayed with her at night in order to assure her safety.[83] When Cantrell began assuming part-time duties at the clinic, Walters appeared August 27. "He made his fingers in the shape of a gun, and pretended to shoot me."[84]

Earlier this year on March 10, the day of David Gunn's assassination, Walters chased down a school bus filled with students. They had allegedly taunted him as he picketed the FWHC facility. According to Shasta County Sr. Deputy District Attorney, Lawrence R. Allen, Walters sped away from the site in his car and

> *...forced the bus to stop, boarded the vehicle and harangued the students calling them "baby-killers"...Several of the students were seriously frightened to the point of tears.*[85]

As a result of the incident, Walters was arrested and charged with misdemeanor false imprisonment and disturbing the peace. After his trial and conviction May 14, Walters made threatening remarks to the Deputy D.A. According to Allen,

> *As we left the courtroom, Walters turned and snarled that I was working for the devil. It appeared to me that some of the jurors were frightened of Mr. Walters, as some of them*

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[80] Declaration of Katrina Cantrell. USA v. Walters. September 3, 1993; p.2

[81] *Ibid.*,

[82] *Ibid.*, p.3

[83] *Ibid.*

[84] *Ibid.*

[85] Declaration of Lawrence R. Allen. USA v. Walters. September 3, 1993, p.1

asked to be escorted to their cars by court personnel at the close of the case. In all my experience, I have never had jurors feel they needed to be escorted out of the courthouse.[86]

Walters sent a rambling, three-page statement to the probation officer appointed by the court to recommend sentence. The Deputy District Attorney reports that Walters wrote,

> *I believe that if the authorities today keep harassing legal picketing, their (sic) will someday soon be great violence.*[87]

Compare Walters' statement with similar extortion threats made by Foreman, Burnett and other leaders of the direct action movement. Their violent rhetoric and thinly-veiled threats have the effect of inciting the most fanatical "sheep" such as Michael Griffin, Rachelle Shannon or Ronald Walters to commit acts of psychological terror and physical violence against women and health care providers.

In August, Walters drove to the home of Mrs. J.D. Jones, a nurse who was employed by FWHC. Her husband is a Highway Patrol officer who contacted the district attorney's office after Walters' harassment of his wife and family began to escalate. Allen reports,

> *Walters has continually harassed Mrs. Jones verbally as she entered and exited the clinic. Officer Jones and his spouse live in a sparsely populated area...outside of Redding. In August 1993, Mrs. Jones and son and daughter all observed Ronald Walters traveling their road...Walters exited his vehicle in the Jones' front yard. Walters was asked what he was doing. Walters' response was that he was doing something with real estate. Walters appeared to be surveilling the Jones' vehicles...Officer Jones felt concerned about his families (sic) personal safety.*[88]

The evening before a pro-choice motorcade and rally last January 30 in Redding, to mark the re-opening of the Feminist Women's Health Center, the brake lines of clinic defense coordinator, Kim Fortune, were cut by an unknown assailant(s). Fortune, her eight year old son and her mother noticed a pool of brake fluid beneath their vehicle before they drove to the marshalling site of the motorcade. Fortune reports receiving numerous harassing phone calls and death threats as a result of her strong stand against Operation Rescue and local anti-abortion thugs. In spite of the incident, several hundred people from throughout the state rallied in support of women's rights.[89]

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[86] *Ibid.* p.2

[87] *Ibid.*

[88] *Ibid.*, p.3

[89] Kim Fortune, 1993, *op cit.*

Walters is scheduled to be sentenced January 5, 1994 in Sacramento. He faces up to five years imprisonment and a $250,000 fine. Though Walters is currently behind bars, threats against women's right continue in Redding. On November 16, large rocks were hurled through the windows of the FWHC facility, causing thousands of dollars in damage. One rock was hurled with such force that when it struck the wall, it left a large, gaping hole.[90]

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Psychological operations and physical violence are an integral component of the anti-abortion movement's current strategy to destroy women's rights. The case of Ronald Walters is not exceptional. For years, Operation Rescue has maintained that theirs' is a "peaceful, prayerful movement." This is nothing but a bald-faced lie. In San Diego for example, convicted terrorist, Cheryl Sullenger, played a central role in a conspiracy to bomb San Diego-area abortion clinics. She was an organizer of Operation Jericho, and directed other members of Dorman Owens' Bible Missionary Fellowship (BMF), in their harassment of women at area family planning clinics.[91]
Currently, Cheryl Sullenger is an organizer for Operation Rescue of California in San Diego. She directs provider harassment and is listed in OR-C publications as their "no place to hide" team captain.[92]

Though both houses of Congress have passed the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act (FACE), it will be a small consolation for women deprived of their rights, now that the anti-abortion movement has shifted their strategy. If our clinics continue to be bombed or attacked with noxious chemicals; if our providers are driven from medical practice by trained thugs specializing in psychological terror and physical violence, all the legislative measures in the world will not deter these fanatics. The bold tactics of the clinic defense movement, used so successfully for stopping clinic blockades, must be modified to include the protection and active defense of abortion providers. Targeting doctors or clinic employees in their homes is not free speech. It is terrorism. Hate mail is not free speech. It is terrorism. Late-night harassing phone calls are not free speech. They are hateful acts of terror. Threatening the children of physicians or clinic employees similarly, is not free speech. It is terrorism. The terrorist hate crimes of Operation Rescue and the others WILL NO LONGER BE TOLERATED.

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[90] *Ibid.*

[91] Michael Novick. Women's Rights: Target for Racist Terror. Neo-Nazi Involvement in the Anti-Abortion Movement. 3rd. Edition; March 1993.

[92] Frontline News. January 1993, *op cit.,* p.2

An "Interview" With An Anti-Abortion Terrorist

Many pro-choice activists in North America tend to believe that far-right anti-choice terrorists are crazed lunatics, religious fanatics, or just ignorant wing-nuts. And many of them are. But as the following interview clearly shows, many of them are not. Many anti-choice terrorists use rhetoric that is well thought out and seemingly logical. Their words seem to make the bombing of an women's health clinic the very duty of every true Christian, especially when they make the sick comparison of abortion being a modern-day Holocaust with far-rights terrorists acting as the Resistance. The following is an interview with a member of the underground anti-choice terrorist group the "Army Of God". Since the group's members generally do not claim their attacks in the name of the A.O.G., it's unclear how many actions this group has actually carried out. But one thing is for certain: the far-right anti-choice movement is a lot better organized and more intelligent than many of us may want to believe. And since it's important for us to "know the enemy", here is what the scum have to say, in their own words:

The Army Of God Speaks Out

An Interview With An Underground Leader Of The American Holocaust Resistance Movement, Also Known As The A.O.G.

"Only he who cries out for the Jews can sing Gregorian Chants."
- Deitrich Bonhöffer

"Annihilating abortuaries is our purest form of worship."
- Freedom Fox, A.O.G.

Why an interview, and why now?

You asked for one, I know I can trust you, and I can't do it alone.

Can't do what alone?

Drive the abortion industry underground with or without the sanction of government law.

By what method?

Explosives, predominantly.

Would you care to elaborate?

Certainly. First, by disarming the murder weapon. That is, by destroying the structures where the actual crimes are being committed. Second, by disarming the persons perpetrating the crimes by removing their hands, or at least their thumbs below the second digit.

What about non-violence? The Rescuers, most of them anyway, would say...

I love the Rescuers. I am not truly violent by causing my neighbor no longer to be able to murder innocent civilians.

What about the image this type of activity would portray to the world through the eyes of the media?

The image that the world entertains at this moment is that there are no Christians in America whatsoever. With the exception, maybe, of Joan Andrews and a few others. No, don't misunderstand me! The only rational way to respond to the knowledge of an imminent and brutal murder is direct action.

Is a Rescue Mission (a sit-in) direct action?

Most definitely.

Then, why bombs and shears?

If the child scheduled for execution was your very own, would you feel you had responded adequately by merely sitting in front of the doors? No! Don't misunderstand me. Rescue is a very powerful thing, becoming vulnerable, totally; taking on the life of the preborn in all his weakness. Nevertheless, I ask you, what would you do if your own child was scheduled for execution in the morning? One - blow the place to kingdom come (or burn it to the ground) tonight, and be there with all the guns and ammunition in the morning just in case they might plan on taking your baby to some other location to commit the abortion.

I understand what you are saying, but nobody can live that.

That's the point. We must die in order that others might live.

But why don't you believe that non-violence, on the order of - say - Ghandi or Martin Luther King, Jr., or the ultimate example of Our Lord, might not be the key to winning the war?

Jesus Christ was never a pacifist except in His role as the Suffering Servant. As for Ghandi and Martin Luther King, Jr., non-violence was only a tactic. King stated publicly on several occasions that they would resove the "conflict" with non-violence or with violence. But, let me say something about your use of that extremely loaded word, "non-violence".

Please do.

An officer of the law, commonly referred to as a "cop" or "policeman", is in traditional society known as a "peace officer", correct?

Yes.

By what means does the Peace Officer keep the peace? By means of minimum force. And in some situations, minimum force can go sofar as to require that a person be shot: no trial, no jury, no stay of execution. In most cases this is not true - in many cases a billy club followed by a little jail time might do. The Peace Officer did not cease to be a defender of the peace by doing these things - on the contrary!

Oh, by the way, don't construe this to mean I recommend executing abortionists. I do not. Although I think it easily justified from Holy Writ; the A.O.G. adheres to the principle of minimum force. Mercy, rather than justice, is the driving force behind our actions. Or, to say it another way, we are merciful in our pursuit of justice, in our pursuit of peace.

Wouldn't such actions against an abortionist harden their hearts toward God even more than it already is?

Quite the opposite. The average abortionist has become so used to the daily carnage he or she commits, it is on the order of flushing a commode. By permanently removing their ability to commit the crimes, one has given them a tremendous gift. Only by being forced to back away from the life that they now live can they ever begin to see themselves as they truly are. Thank God for the few brave ones that have repented on their crimes. For the rest, I think thumblessness a small price to pay. "...better to enter into life maimed..." (I finally found a present day application for those words.)

Do you think these types of activities will have a negative effect on the other wings of the Pro-Life movment?

Activity that attempts to protect women and children is postitive. Period. Inactivity is negative. To tell you the truth, I'm not really sure what the "Pro-Life Movement" is! If your question was in regard to public opinion as influenced by the media, I would have to say that, contrary to popular opinion, it is easy at this time for the media as a whole to hold the position that they do: they can comfortably be for death. Not so when the honorable citizens of any given community begin to rise up in righteous indignation and destroy these miniature Dachaus. All of a sudden, apathy is gone. The average reporter says to himself, "Wow! Maybe there are a few people that really believe all this jargon about abortion being murder."

What do you recommend that concerned citizens do at this time?

Every Pro-Life person should commit to destroying at least one death camp, or damaging at least one baby killer. The former is a relatively easy task - the latter could be quite difficult to accomplish. The preferred method for the novice would be gasoline and matches. Straight and easy. No tracks. You've kind of got to pour and light and leave real fast because of the flammability factor. Kerosene is great, but a little more traceable, so you would not want to buy it and use it in the same day.

What about explosives?

With time delays, a most wondrous method, and my personal favorite.

For the average person?

Yes, assuming that person is willing to do a little reading to understand the basics. A person should be careful about reading books from a public library, and then going out and doing "good deeds". The Federal agents will be looking at fingerprints - there's no reason to put them on the scent any faster than necessary. Then again, if a person is only going to take out a few mills on a one time basis, then there is really not much to worry about.

What about chemical warfare?

I think that should remain classified information at this time.

O.K. Do you have any special heroes who give you inspiration?

Well, there are many heroes of the Faith throughout history, but one of my favorites is Major Von Gersdorf.

Who worker with Bonhöffer, right?

Yes. He was the guy who always wore a trenchcoat - a loaded trenchcoat. Once, when the Resistance was planning a Putsch, Von Gersdorf had bombs, one in each pocket, that he was going to detonate in Hitler's presence. There is one vidid scene I recall reading about, where Bonhöffer and friends were all sitting around a room practicing the piano and singing. In preparation for Bonhöffer's father's seventy-fifth birthday. Major VOn Gersdorf was sitting around trying not to be nervous but, well, they were all looking at the phone nervously, knowing that any second it would ring, and that he would have to drive to the munitions factory where Hitler was going to be doing an inspection, or something.

Von Gersdorf was not going to take any chances of having a dud bomb, so he took two, one in each pocket - he was going to blow himself to kingdom come (and Hitler, too, in the process). As it turned out, it never happened. But he had the heart to at least attempt it.

That's quite a story. I think that there must be some Army Of God persons who have that kind of resolve and commitment.

There are some, most certainly. The babies are just so precious, I can't fathom any commitment less than "resistance unto death", to use the biblical imagery.

How many of the A.O.G. are currently in prison? Wait, I think I already know that you will not be able to answer that question, right?

(Laughter) Sorry. I will say this, however. Most of the people who have or are now serving time for destroying abortuaries are not enlisted with the A.O.G., but in most cases that's only because they were never given an opportunity to do so (I wish some of them had - they might all be free).

How does one become a member of the Army Of God?

With great difficulty.

Would you care to elaborate?

No. Not in an interview. My main goal in this interview is to encourage others to take certain actions at certain times in solidarity with the resistance effort. In other words, when the mills begin to smoke, add some fuel to the fire. We desperately need single lone-rangers out there, who will commit to destroy one abortuary before they die. Most genuine Pro-Lifers praise and worship God when an abortuary is destroyed. It matters little what stripe of activist you are talking about. Rescuers, political activists, or covert operators are all thankful. And it's common knowledge what the insurance costs are like after a good bombing.

(Reprinted from "When Life Hurts...")

Anti-Abortion Terror Continues

On November third, the day Paul Hill was convicted for the cold-blooded assassinations of Dr. John Britton and Mr. James Barrett, a pipe bomb exploded in the driveway of a Planned Parenthood clinic in San Rafael CA, about fifteen miles north of San Francisco. A business next door was also damaged.

California is no stranger to anti-abortion violence. This is the fourth such attack in less than a month in the state.

• October 9, an arson fire at a Planned Parenthood clinic in Chico caused $35,000 in damage.

• On the same day, another clinic in Redding was the victim of an arson fire that caused $3000 in damage, despite an elaborate alarm system which limited the fire. This was the fourth attack on the clinic. It has been burned to the ground three times in the past.

• October 18, a molotov cocktail thrown into a clinic in San Jose caused $500 in damage.

It's important to show our continued support of women's reproductive rights by sending letters of sympathy and support to these beleaguered medical facilities. Write to:

Kitty Cantrell
Redding Feminist Women's Health Center
1901 Victor Avenue
Redding, CA 96002

Sharon Grey
Planned Parenthood
556 Vallombrosa
Chico, CA 95926

Similar violence has continued to this writing. At a Fremont, CA clinic, after the San Rafael bombing, there was an invasion at both front and back doors. The Hayward, CA, Planned Parenthood facility had a storage shed broken into, and locks removed. The San Francisco offices of Working Assets (they do "socially conscious" investing and provide funds to reproductive rights and other non-profit groups) had a bomb threat called in.

California is not the only state to suffer anti-abortion terror. The day after Dr. Britton and Mr. Barrett were shot and killed by Paul Hill, a clinic in Falls Church, VA was firebombed. On August 18, a clinic in Brainerd, MN was burned to the ground, along with three other businesses, after a brick was thrown through the clinic window and gasoline was sloshed inside and ignited. A clinic was also attacked recently in Wyoming.

Two days after the CA attacks, the medical facility of Dr. Jim Armstrong, a Montana abortion provider who had successfully sued against the state's illegal restrictions on abortions, fell victim to the same violence. It was damaged extensively as well, forcing Armstrong and his staff to look for temporary facilities while his clinic is being rebuilt. You can extend your support to them at the following address:

Jim Armstrong, MD and Susan Cahill, PAC
795 Sunset Boulevard
Kalispell, MT 59901-3686

Many people in the pro-choice community were convinced that the passage of the FACE (Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances) law, and the successful RICO (Racketeer Influenced Corrupt Organizations) decision against anti-abortionists, would stop the violence of the anti-choice terrorists. But these events, as well as the murders of Dr. Britton and Mr. Barrett in Florida, and the recent shooting in Canada (see sidebar), prove how useless these laws are. The government has routinely looked the other way while the rampage continues. For example:

• After a firebomb leveled a clinic in Ashland OR, the FBI refused to investigate after it ruled that the attack was not politically motivated. Authorities made a similar ruling following the shooting of an abortion provider in Alabama shortly after Dr. David Gunn was killed last year, claiming it was random violence motivated by theft.

• Linda Taggert, director of the Ladies Center where Britton and Barrett were killed, had pleaded with the FBI for weeks prior to the killings to arrest Paul Hill. Hill was video-taped banging on the clinic windows, screaming at patients, in clear violation of FACE. He was not arrested due to "lack of evidence." Four weeks later, the murders occurred.

• Even when Hill was under surveillance by state, local and federal authorities, he still managed to cross a five-lane highway with a 12-gauge shotgun in broad daylight to commit murder.

• After Father David Troesch of Mobile, AL, came out in defense of Hill, and called for the execution of doctors, escorts, women who have had abortions and anyone who helped provide the service in any way, the Center For Choice staff in Mobile was questioned by the FBI. After the agency gathered material on Troesch and others who regularly harassed the clinic's patients, the clinic director was told that the FBI couldn't use the material because of first amendment rights. They only asked if a staff member "felt threatened" and if so, "by whom?" — this after Troesch said he had no immediate plans to kill anyone, but the door was always open.

• An FBI agent told a clinic director in Ft. Wayne, IN, that FACE is "virtuosly useless" and that a clinic's best bet was to operate under a secret address, like a battered women's shelter.

• Thirty anti-abortion protesters who blockaded a clinic in Little Rock, AR, on July 8 still have not been charged under FACE.

To put these events in perspective, imagine the government's reaction if banks or churches were routinely bombed, blockaded, their employees killed, or their patrons harassed — certainly, the reaction would be far different! It is clear that we cannot rely on the government to protect women's right to choose — we must protect it OURSELVES.

Meanwhile, however, the state is quite prepared to persecute women driven to desperation by their inability to gain access to safe, legal abortion services. According to Kathryn Albisa, esq. at the Center for Reproductive Law and Policy, a motion will be filed within the next forty-five days to dismiss the Florida case against Kawana Ashley, accused of murdering her own fetus when she shot herself after failing to obtain an abortion. If the case is not dismissed, Kawana will go to trial on two felony charges. If she is found guilty, the Center will appeal. The Center has not filed the dismissal request yet, as the case still has not been assigned to a state prosecutor. Albisa thinks a letter writing campaign to the state prosecutor demanding that the charges be dropped would be a good idea.

For more information, contact the Center For Reproductive Law and Policy (212) 514-5534; Kathryn Albisa, esq.
Public Defender's Office Tampa (813) 464-6516, Bruce Johnson, esq. for Ashley.
State Prosecutor's Office, Tampa (813) 464-6246 to urge them to drop the charges, no case number yet for Ashley.

The government has NEVER protected the rights of the oppressed without serious pressure from the people, so let's get busy!

By Leslie Griffith, this article appeared in the December 1994 issue of *Turning the Tide*, a publication of People Against Racist Terror

Selective Abortion

By Ingrid Deringer

In Nazi Germany, state officials worked hard to create a society free of "defectives": Jews, gays and lesbians, gypsies, and communists.

Women with disabilities are drawing chilling parallels between that campaign and present day prenatal screening of fetuses to detect disabilities. Like the victims of the Holocaust, disabled fetuses are regarded as flawed, imperfect versions of humanity, and therefore less deserving of life.

Today, the unquestioned acceptance and celebration of reproductive technologies is reminding many feminist activists of the uncritical embrace of eugenics by scholars, legislators and physicians earlier this century. For women with disabilities, amniocentesis - the process of withdrawing and testing the uterine fluid of a pregnant woman to determine whether the fetus has a disability - is not a routine, benign procedure. Its growing popularity, particularly for older, pregnant women, is contributing to the increasing number of selective abortions with disabled fetuses as the targets.

The DisAbled Women's Network (DAWN) Canada, an advocacy group, reports that 90 per cent of women who have a fetus that tests positive for a disability choose to abort. There are presently more than 40 disabilities that can be identified prenatally, including Down's syndrome, spina bifida, Huntington's disease and cystic fibrosis.

The amniocentesis procedure is most often performed at the 16th week of pregnancy to discover a genetic disorder (it can also be used to, determine the fetus's sex). According, to statistics, 95 per cent of all amniocentesis tests indicate the fetus does not have a detectable disability.

While amniocentesis was originally used for women deemed to be "at high risk" of carrying a disabled fetus, more physicians are recommending the procedure for women who are "low risk".

It is seen as a practical payoff: massive prenatal screening is less expensive than paying for the care of disabled people. Supporters say aborting "abnormal" fetuses compensates for the ones that aren't weeded out by nature through spontaneous abortion. Parents are opting for this testing because it is available and they want a so-called normal child. Because the procedure is expensive, it is proving to be lucrative for the medical establishment.

But it is precisely because of the widespread use of amniocentesis and the assumption that the detection of a disability would lead to the termination of a pregnancy - that abortion of disabled fetuses is gaining greater acceptance.

DAWN Canada reported to the Royal Commission on Reproductive Technologies that, "some doctors require women to agree before amniocentesis that they will abort if there is a "defect" in the fetus." The problem is not that prenatal testing exists, but that it exists within a coercive framework. Abortion of disabled fetuses is becoming compulsory.

Even feminists fighting for reproductive rights, perhaps unwittingly, are contributing to the mindset that disabled fetuses should be aborted. When they argue in favour of choice by saying anti-abortionists would force women to give birth to disabled children, they paint the birth of a disabled child as a disaster. This attitude makes many women with disabilities feel uncomfortable with the abortion rights movement.

And while many people consider selective abortion based on the sex of the fetus unacceptable, the same tenet does not hold true when applied to disabilities. Abortion rights should focus on abortion being "safe, legal and funded" and not whether a fetus is disabled or not.

In *Voices from the Shadows: Disabled Women Speak*, one woman poignantly says, "I wonder (...) if I were born today, would I be given the right to live? That concerns me a lot.

"I wonder when does it stop? Does it stop at the blind, deaf child? Does it stop because a child may limp? Does it stop at minor brain damage? I just wonder where is the cut-off line going to be?"

DAWN Canada says doctors are providing biased information to women with disabled fetuses: they are rarely told about people with disabilities who live full, happy lives.

In their report to the Royal Commission on Reproductive Technologies they stated women needed information that, "gives the facts - not the stereotypes!"

In a Canadian study, young women with disabilities were asked how they felt about selective abortions. Not one said she would never consider abortion, but, most admitted to mixed feelings. They said they wouldn't mind having a disabled child, but they would be terrified for the child's sake. The women said they would want to spare their offspring the problems they had faced.

Issues around selective abortion have cropped up in surrogacy contracts as well. Surrogate mothers have become more common in the United States and Canada since reproductive technologies have become more accessible. In these contracts, it is often stipulated that the birth mother undergo ultrasound or amniocentesis. If the fetus is found to have a disability, the contract may demand that the surrogate terminate the pregnancy and forego her fee.

Changing Patterns: Women in Canada, reports some surrogacy contracts include, "extensive control over diet, lifestyle, and activities", and require a "quality product."

It describes surrogacy as an example of the commercialization of reproductive capacities where "the child becomes a commodity, the recipient parents become the consumers, and the donors and surrogates become the suppliers." When the goods are defective the consumer does not want the product anymore.

In the famous Baby "M" case, the contract between Mary Beth Whitehead and William Stern stated that if the fetus was found to have a disability, Whitehead would be

paid $1,000 if she had an abortion. If she did not, Stern's obligation to her was over.

The heavy hand of the law does not stop at surrogacycontracts. Ruth Hubbard, author and legal theorist, says there are cases in the U.S. where, "parents sue physicians claiming that they should have been warned more forcefully about all the available resources for prenatal detection."

She sees a future where, "a child who is born with a health problem that might have been detected and improved prenatally can probably sue the mother if she refused to be tested when pregnant."

Hubbard's prediction may not be as far fetched as it seems. At least one attorney, Margery Shaw, urges courts and legislators to, "take all reasonable steps to insure that fetuses destined to be born alive are not handicapped mentally and physically by the negligent acts or omissions of others.

"Carrying a disabled fetus to term is an example of negligent fetal abuse resulting in an injured child", much the same way as abuse of alcohol or drugs during pregnancy would be.

The possibility of mandatory prenatal screening looms large, suggesting a future where pregnant women could lose a fundamental right - the right to refuse medical treatment.

Where eugenics and selective breeding once were perceived as ways of dealing with people with disabilities, the pressure is now on women to selectively abort fetuses with a disability. But advocates of selective abortion cannot meet their goal of a "flawless" society: many inherited disabilities cannot be predicted or prevented. Environmental factors such as exposure to chemicals or radiation, or simple accidents, will not soon vanish. Disability is not something that is going to go away.

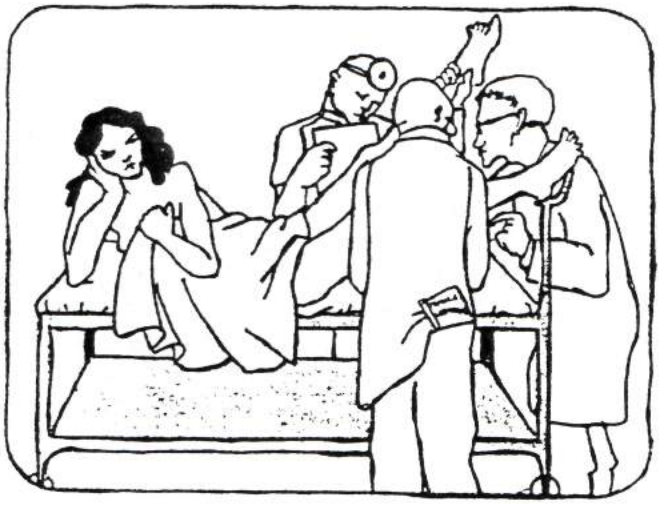
With that in mind, a new emphasis should be made on providing services to disabled people so that they may enjoy a life free of discrimination. The goal should be for society to take more responsibility for the welfare of disabled people, and become more informed to see disabilities in a positive light. Until disabilities are accepted, instead of being greeted with fear or misunderstanding, selective abortion will continue to be accepted uncritically.

Many women, myself included, went through a phase in their pregnancy when they feared they would give birth to a disabled child. Most of the fear stems from the fear of having your child suffer. Another reason for this fear is that mothers are often the sole caretakers of children with disabilities and since there are few resources available to mothers, they become very isolated. In this way that fear of being solely responsible for a disabled person is a valid fear in our society.

Society has shut out the voices of the disabled and has historically kept them behind closed doors. By doing so, society has lost the chance to understand and learn from them. Our exposure to people with disabilities has been so limited that most people only see them as helpless, unhappy and weak. It is becoming evident is disabled people become more visible that society has a lot to learn from them.

Ingrid Deringer is a women's health and disability counselor, consultant and educator in Calgary. She became interested in the issue of disability when she developed an illness in 1984. Shehas since recovered, but devotes her life and work to issues of concem to women, particularly to women with disabilities.

(Reprinted from Healthsharing: A Canadian Women's Health Quarterly, Vol. 13:4 - Winter/Spring 1993)



Contraception, Abortion And Sterilization Today: What Choices Do Women Really Have?

The following is an excerpt from the Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse (CARASA)

Sterilization

Sterilization, the most prevalent form of fertility control in the United States for women over 25, differs dramatically from abortion and contraception. It permanently renders a woman or man infertile.

For women, sterilization is a major surgical procedure done with general or local anesthesia in which the Fallopian tubes are cut, burned, clipped, or otherwise shut, preventing eggs from reaching the uterus. The tubes are reached though an incision in the abdomen or less often through the vagina. Two of the most common methods are laparoscopy and laparotomy. (In the past, hysterectomy was sometimes used for sterilization purposes.) Women can be sterilized at any time, except during pregnancy.

Vasectomy is the male sterilization procedure. Two small incisions are made in the scrotum to cut the vas deferens, the tubes that carry sperm. Vasectomy is a minor operation, requiring only a local anesthetic.

Like all major surgical procedures, female sterilization entails risks of infection, blood clots, and complications due to anesthesia, with rare instances of death. For reasons that are not well understood, a woman's menstrual period may increase in flow and be more painful after sterilization. Regret rates higher than 30 percent have been reported. Regret or depression is generally attributed to poor counseling about the permanence and side effects of sterilization. Women may also feel regret when they have little choice due to such factors as coercion from their husbands or medical difficulties. In less than 2 percent of sterilizations, the procedure may fail or reverse itself. Vasectomy is much safer than female sterilization, but it too can result in infection, failure, and regret.

Since the 1970s sterilization has been promoted by the medical and family planning establishments as an easy solution to people's desire for effective fertility control. Dissatisfaction with the dangers and inadequacies of the pill, IUD, and other methods of fertility control has led increasing numbers of women to accept sterilization.

Sterilization information was given in languages women did not understand; women were threatened with loss of welfare or medical benefits if they did not consent; consent was solicited during labor; and abortion was conditioned upon consent to sterilization.

Abuse may occur in less overt but coercive ways: Social and economic conditions can exert so much pressure that a woman feels she has no other option. Sterilization is promoted with little information about other alternatives. Medicaid and private insurance companies pay for the procedure, but not for contraception.

Statistics suggest that women bear the brunt of these pressures. Among low-income Blacks and Latins, more women than men are sterilized. Those men who choose vasectomies are most likely to be middle-class and married.

Female sterilization in the United States increased 350 percent between 1970 and 1975, and between 1976 and 1982, the rates nearly doubled. The dramatic rise in sterilizations coincided with the virtual elimination of federal funding for abortion and other restrictions on access. The federal government assumes 90 percent of the cost of most sterilizations under Medicaid at the same time that it pays for only a minuscule number of abortions. This funding disparity amounts to a government policy of population control targeted at poor people and people of color. There are no statistics about the extent to which women who rely on Medicaid-funded abortion have turned to sterilization, but the increase in sterilizations and the cutbacks in abortion funding and accessibility appear related. In the absence of adequate income, birth control, childcare, and health care, we cannot assume that the rise in sterilization is a result of "free choice."

Overt and covert forms of pressure have been exploited by population control groups that encouraged sterilization, especially among particular populations of women. All of these factors led to disturbing demographic trends. Black and Latin women, particularly those on public assistance, were more likely to be sterilized than white women using private medical services. Compared with the general population of married women, Black and Latin married women were sterilized in significantly greater proportions. As of 1968, 35.3 percent of all women of childbearing age were sterilized in Puerto Rico, where abortion was unavailable to all but wealthy North Americans. One study showed 25 percent of Native American women were also sterilized. Between 1976 and 1982, the percentage of all currently married women relying on sterilization increased markedly, but the increase was larger for Blacks than for whites.

The federal regulations condition payment to the provider on the provider's compliance. They include informed consent in the woman's or man's own language, a 30-day waiting period between consent and the operation, and information that the operation is considered both permanent and irreversible and about alternatives. Consent may not be obtained during abortion or childbirth. Hysterectomies for sterilization purposes are not funded, nor are sterilizations for people under 21, in prison, or those legally declared incompetent.

Sterilization among people of color in this country has had its counterpart in the Third World. Using federal funds, population control advocates exported sterilization programs in the belief that social unrest could be "cured" by diminishing the number of dissatisfied people. This theory erroneously points to overpopulation as the cause of social problems instead of the structure of the social systems in which people live.

Beginning in 1973, women of color, feminists, and health care workers in the United States recognized and responded to the various forms of domestic sterilization abuse. They proposed andlobbied for guidelines to regulate sterilizations in New York City and, in 1977, regulations were passed by the City Council. In 1979 the federal Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (now the Department of Health and Human Services) adopted regulations patterned after the New York City law.

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Despite lack of adequate enforcement of the federal and New York City regulations, they represent a major victory in the movement to achieve reproductive freedom. They provide a strong warning to potential abusers. Groups that traditionally supported abortion rights, such as Planned Parenthood, Zero Population Growth, and the Association for Voluntary Sterilization (now the Association for Surgical Contraception), adamantly opposed the regulations on the grounds that they deprived women of "freedom of choice," that they were unnecessary and paternalistic, or that they interfered with the doctor-patient relationship. These objections ignore the concrete circumstances of how abuses happen and who most frequently suffers from them.

Postregulation statistics demonstrate a leveling of the rate of sterilization between Black and white women. This may be due in part to popular acceptance of the procedure as a method no longer reserved for the poor and disabled. Also, decreased spending power and pressures on white women to work outside the home are eroding social and economic differences between the middle class and the poor. A notable exception to this trend is recent New York City data which show that the percentage of procedures for Medicaid recipients is rising, with increasing disparities between white and Latin women (although this may be due to underreporting).

Current Issues in Sterilization

Reversal

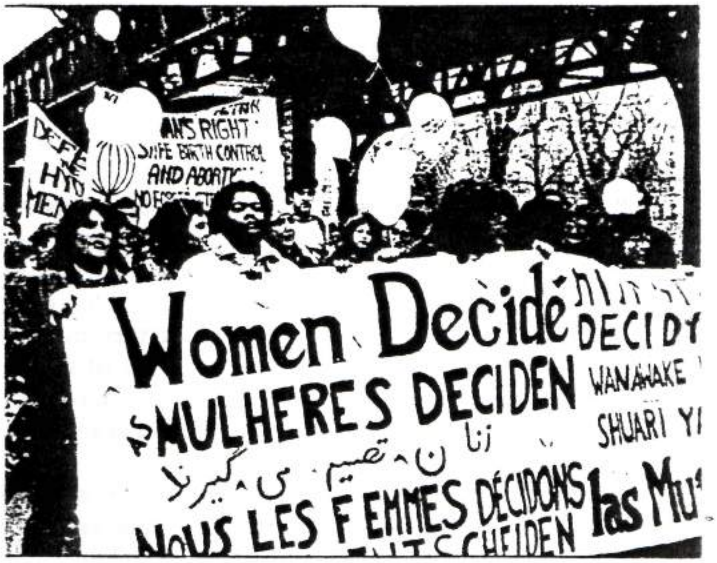
Today sterilization reversal is technically possible. Microsurgical procedures can reconnect a Fallopian tube or vas deferens severed during sterilization. But the rate of success is low, especially for those who are over 40 and have been sterilized for a considerable period of time by a method that destroys substantial tissue.

As a practical matter, reversal procedures are inaccessible to most people. Only a few large institutions offer this service, which is expensive (as much as $5,000 in 1987) and not usually covered by insurance. Some physicians will accept only married patients. Women who have undergone the surgery have an increased risk of ectopic pregnancy.

The apparent availability of reversal may lead to decisions to be sterilized by those who expect that it can be reversed later. Courts and government agencies may move away from their present stance and be more willing to permit sterilization of the poor or disabled if reversal is theoretically available, though no guarantee exists for funding of expensive reversal procedures.

AIDS

As public attention has become focused on AIDS, there has been much discussion of compulsory testing of pregnant women or women at risk for AIDS to ascertain if they are HIV-positive. Because a woman with the HIV virus has a 30 to 50 percent chance of passing the infection to her children during gestation or birth, there is concern that abortion and sterilization will be recommended by counselors or that they will be involuntarily imposed by law. Since AIDS disproportionately affects Black and Latin communities, these possibilities are reminiscent of earlier population control campaigns that targeted women of color. There have always been apparently compelling arguments for compulsory sterilization but, as history demonstrates, the resulting sterilization abuse only avoided dealing with deeper social and economic issues.



Holy War

Fighting abortion is just a front for Human Life International; what the U.S.-based group really wants is to create a white Christian heterosexual world.

By Kristin Andrews

"Canada was the first non-Communist nation to legalize the killing of preborn children. Today sheis in total crisisoan empty land where zealots howl for more depopulation (...) a once-Christian country where the Faith is disappearing, where feminists worship pagan goddesses, and where after 117 years the House of Commons has ejected Jesus, Our King, from its daily opening prayer."

- from a brochure advertising Human Life International's upcoming world conference in Montreal

Theresa Bell leans back in her heavy swivel-chair, her dark hair framed by a wall calendar featuring the pope on the one side, a photograph of her family on the other. "You called Canada a secular society", she says to me, "and I guess I find that distressing."

Bell, executive director of the Canadian branch of Human Life International, one of the world's most powerful anti-abortion lobbies, is talking to me in her Ottawa office. Not so long ago, she says, the church and the state were united as one. "Just look at street signs in Montreal", she says. "They're all named after saints."

If Human Life International (HLI) had its way, we'd be headed back to the papal past, and that road will pass through Montreal next spring. HLI plans to hold its annual world conference in our city in April, bringing in big-name anti-abortion activists to help recruit support for a possible new chapter in Quebec. (HLI held a conference in Montreal in 1986 that 700 people attended; 1,500 are expected this time.)

While HLI is proud of its "family values" approach to the abortion issue, critics say those values are anti-feminist, anti-Semitic, anti-immigrant, in fact, anti-almost-everything except white Christian motherhood. HLI believes homosexuality is "destructive", according to its literature. And it has direct links to a man described by a German judge as a neo-fascist, and to American anti-abortion activist, Randall Terry, the head of Operation Rescue who has served time in the United States for his over-zealous protest tactics.

Behind the HLI commitment to "life issues" is a theory that founder and chair Paul Marx described in one HLI pamphlet, Confessions of a Pro-Life Missionary. "The West is dying because of over-copulation and low birthrates", he wrote. Marx believes Jewish people are the chief "depopulationists"; that they "have more or less led the abortion movement."

Marx, a Catholic priest, founded HLI with the approval of the Vatican in 1981. The Catholic Church continues to lendsupport to the group, and that includes the Church in Montreal. It has agreed to let HLI use Old Montreal's Notre-Dame Basilica for the opening mass of its April conference.

The move has angered some members of Montreal's Catholic community. "It seems to me unimaginable that the Basilica can be lent to a group that is openly anti-Semitic", said Carolyn Sharp, editor and publisher of the monthly Jesuit magazine, *Relations*.

Stephen Scheinberg, a member of B'nai Brith's League for Human Rights, said his group wrote to Montreal's new cardinal, Jean-Claude Turcotte, this week asking that he cancel the event.

The decision to accept HLI's request for use of the historic church came from the curé, Father Ivanhoe Poirier. B'nai Brith contacted Poirier over two weeks ago asking that he look into the anti-Semitic stances HLI has repeated in its abundant literature. Poirier said he won't comment until he's had more time to think about it.

In addition to his role at B'nai Brith, Scheinberg is a Concordia University history professor and editor of a recent study on right-wing extremism in Canada. Scheinberg said HLI, like other anti-abortion groups in Canada and the United States, is a vehicle to propagate more radical "hate-motivated" views than simply protection of the fetus. "Their efforts are aimed at heating up the troops for what they see as a battle against Satan and 'the enemy'", Scheinberg said.

HLI uses aggressive and sensational tactics in its fight against abortion. Members are infamous for sending graphic postcards and bloodied plastic fetuses to Canadian MPs. In addition to printing and distributing anti-abortion films and books throughout the world, HLI boasts of having helped defeat attempts to legalize abortion in Ireland, Honduras, the Philippines and South Africa, among other countries.

Since Father Marx founded HLI in '81, the group has grown to 49 branch offices in 38 countries on six continents. Its $4.7-million budget comes mainly from member donations.

The first HLI Canada branch opened in Laval, Quebec in 1984. Four years later, that office moved to Ottawa. Chapters in Calgary, Winnipeg and Antigonish, Nova Scotia help send literature to about 6,000 supporters.

HLI's Canadian headquarters are in the Ottawa suburb of Vanier, a sweet post-war development with sharp-edged lawns and shrubs in burlap winter coats. After I visited Bell last week, I left HLI's office (a converted two-car garage with no sign out front) with an armload of literature with titles like *The Contraceptive Mentality* and *Exposed: Planned Parenthood, the Abortion and Eugenic Connections.*

Planned Parenthoodis name comes up a lot in HLI circles. Bonnie Johnson, executive director of Planned Parenthood Federation of Canada (PPFC), said it's revealing that HLI targets her group more than other pro-choice lobbies such as CARAL (the Canadian Abortion Rights Action League). PPFC, unlike its American counterpart, doesn't actually offer abortions but, rather, pregnancy

counseling and contraception at cost. "The real issue is Planned Parenthood promotes family planning", said Johnson.

Johnson said Theresa Bell's most recent letter to HLI supporters is characteristic of right-wing anti-abortion movements, which Johnson calls "misogynist at the core." Bell wrote: "Through the feminist movement, Satan... still uses women for his designs." According to Bell's letter, women are used to kill their children and families "all in the name of abstract euphemisms such as 'empowerment' and 'controlling my own body.'"

"This fetus issue is a red herring", said Johnson. "What the birth-control debate is really about is women having a place in society and being able to compete with men in terms of work."

Bell admitted that "the fetus" per se is not as important to HLI's work as covering the "whole range of 'life issues', including abortion, homosexuality, sex education and so-called birth control."

Homosexuality is a sin, said Bell, because it doesn't produce children. "On an economic level, if we're going to approve of homosexuality, where will we get the population from?"

For clarification, she gave me a pamphlet on teenage sex education written by HLI member Dr. Patrick Dunn. "Despite all the 'nice guy' propagana in support of it, homosexual acts are, objectively, serious sins and therefore... always destructive of the human personality."

Montreal gay activist Douglas Buckley-Couvrette is not impressed. "When the Catholic church supports statements like this, what they are actually supporting is the violence [against] and killing of gays and lesbians", he said.

It's nothing new that official Catholic doctrine condemns gay and lesbian love. In Quebec, however, it's secular law that protects minority groups against violent expressions of hatred based on church doctrine. Critics of HLI are particularly worried by what they see as disrespect for the division of church and state, which makes anti-hate laws possible.

The separation of church and state is "the disease" of Canadian society, said an Ottawa priest and HLI member Father D. Parsons in a 1989 sermon reprinted by HLI. "Although our proximate goal is the cessation of abortion in our Country, our ultimate goal is the Reign of Jesus Christ over all nations and the impregnating of all their laws with the law of the Gospel", Parsons said.

Bell said HLI isn't prejudiced against any religious group. But Parsons' sermon, coupled with conference workshop titles like "The Moslem Threat to the World", send a pretty clear message of intolerance.

The strongest thread of religious intolerance running through HLI's work is anti-Semitism, says B'nai Brith. Throughout his career, HLI founder Paul Marx has been seemingly obsessed with pointing out the number and names of Jews involved in the abortion movement. A 1989 "Special Report" mailed to all HLI donors claimed "the same segment of the Jewish community that accuses the Pope of insensitivity to the Jewish Holocaust not only condones but has more or less led the greatest holocaust of all time, the war on unborn babies."

Jack Jedwab, Quebec regional executive director of the Canadian Jewish Congress, said Marx's words are designed topromote anti-Semitism. "To draw an analogy between the Holocaust and abortion is reprehensible and trivializes the tragedy that so many Jewish people went through", Jedwab said.

Marx was out of the country when I called his Gaithersburg, Maryland office. Instead, I talked to Kathy Moriarty, an administrative assistant in HLI's publications department. She said Marx merely states the facts and there's nothing racist or anti-Semitic about it.

Moriarty also said Jews should have a special interest in pro-life issues because of what happened in Nazi Germany, despite the fact that "more Catholics were gassed by those chambers than Jews." That statement alone earns Moriarty a place with the likes of Ernst Zundel, the Toronto-based author of many infamous and ill-informed tracts denying the Jewish Holocaust.

But Moriarty didn't stop there. "Why are there so many blacks involved in the abortion movement?" she asked. "They don't understand that Planned Parenthood is out for black genocide."

Nic Pouliot, a Montreal expert on the extreme right, said HLI might accuse family planning services of "genocide" but the accusation masks a eugenic concern for the preservation of the "white Christian race."

Bell told me one of HLI's main concerns is Canada's "appalling low birthrate." The situation is the worst in Quebec, she added. "Quebec wants to preserve its unique culture but they don't even have enough children to replace the population", she said. "They'll be forced to import immigrants just to survive."

HLI's extremism hasn't gone unnoticed. In April 1992, former NDP MP Dawn Black asked Revenue Canada to look into HLI's tax-exempt status. Religious and educational organizations are classified as charities and donations are tax-deductible. Black, a British Columbia politician known for her pro-choice stance, said she heard about HLI's radical politics through a friend who went to a HLI world conference in Ottawa two years ago.

This spring Revenue Canada revoked HLI's tax-exempt status on the grounds the organization is "too political." (Childbirth by Choice, a pro-choice group affiliated with CARAL, recently suffered the same fate.)

HLI is currently gathering forces to challenge the Revenue Canada decision in the Federal Court of Appeals. A full-page HLI advertisement in the Globe and Mail on Nov. 19, headlined "Revenue Canada launches attack on religious organization", has gained the group new financial and political support, according to Bell.

But while HLI tries to direct attention toward its plight as a persecuted religious organization, its full political program is starting to be known in Catholic and pro-life circles in Quebec.

Reverend Michel Séguin is the Vice-Rector of the Grande Séminaire de Montréal. He gave a seminar on moral theology at an HLI conference in Winnipeg last October and, as a result, found his picture on the brochure for the April conference in Montreal without his consent. Séguin said his involvement in the organization brought

criticism from Catholic intellectuals in Montreal, so he has decided not to attend the upcomingconference, even though he still agrees with most of what HLI is doing.

Quebecers who will be speaking at the conference include Aline Lizotte, a philosophy professor at CEGEP St-Laurent and Father Terry Paquette, a "chastity educator" at Laurentian Regional High School in Lachute.

Relations' editor Sharp said HLI is socially marginal in Quebec. "Basically, everything they print is in English, and among the francophones in the church, nobody's even noticed."

But Gwynne Basen, a member of the *Coalition quebecoise pour l'avortement libre et gratuit*, thinks it's important to expose HLI for what it is, even if that means giving it publicity. She said there are plenty of people in Quebec who might be anti-abortion but are not necessarily right-wing extremists. "Often single-issue organizations can get into bed with extremist people when they genuinely don't know what they're about", she said. "We can't ignore the kind of climate groups like HLI create in a country which has a Reform Party."

(Additional research by Chris Sheridan)

(Source: Montreal Mirror - December 15-22, 1994)

Excerpt from:

Different Voices: Women and the Holocaust

by Carol Rittner

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Gisela Bock

Both Nazi racism and sexism concerned all women, the inferior as well as the superior.

GISELA BOCK

The Holocaust happened, but people still wonder how and why. Such questions require more answers than anyone can give, but, as far as the fate of women during the Shoah is concerned, some of the most telling are provided by Gisela Bock. Long associated with work on women's history, she has been for many years a scholar at the Historical Institute of the Technical University in Berlin. As shown by her essay on racism and sexism in Nazi Germany, the roads that led to Auschwitz were as long as they were full of twists and turns. But specifically, she argues, there would have been no need for Olga Lengyel, Gisela Perl, and Charlotte Delbo to talk about Auschwitz unless a tradition of "scientific racism," as Bock calls it, helped to make the Holocaust happen.

Outlining significant background, Bock documents how pre-Nazi eugenic theories paved the way for Hitler and his followers to act on the lethal conclusion that there are "lives unworthy of life" (lebensunwertes Leben). *Race-hygiene principles espoused by Nazi ideology decreed that inferior breeds had to be eliminated while the superior German one had to be strengthened and improved. So the Third Reich embraced a principle that had been articulated in 1909, some years before the Nazi party even existed: "If we want to practice race hygiene seriously, we must make women the target of our social work."*

One of the first to focus on the interrelationships between racism and sexism in Nazi policy, Bock's essay concentrates particularly on the Third Reich's determination to control reproduction. It might be argued that making the issue of motherhood

and compulsory sterilization the center of discussion shifts the focus too far away from the anti-Jewish nature of Nazi racism and its "war against the Jews." To the contrary, however, Bock reveals that there is significant documentary evidence—legislation, documents, public statements—to support the idea that "the Nazis were by no means simply interested in raising the number of [superior] childbearing women. They were just as bent on excluding many [inferior] women from bearing and raising children—and men from begetting them. . . ." While Jews were not the only ones the Nazis considered unworthy of life, they topped that list. The surest method of birth control, moreover, is death, and Jewish women were targeted accordingly.

Nazi racism and sexism, propagated by men and supported actively or passively by German women, were major instruments of social control during the Third Reich. More than that, Bock reveals, Nazi race hygiene and the "Final Solution" were inextricably bound together.

Racism and Sexism in Nazi Germany: Motherhood, Compulsory Sterilization, and the State

"ALIEN RACES" AND THE "OTHER SEX"

By presenting some largely unexplored features of women's lives under National Socialism in Germany, this essay considers larger questions about the complex connections between racism and sexism. It does not presume to exhaust the issue, or even touch on all its aspects. Instead, it approaches it through the perspective of one part of women's lives affected by state policy: reproduction or, as I prefer to call it, the reproductive aspect of women's unwaged housework. It can be no more than a contribution for two reasons. First, dealing with racism in Germany during this period involves considering an unparalleled mass murder of millions of women and men, an undertaking beyond the scope of any single essay. Second, this analysis is a first approach, for neither race nor gender, racism nor sexism—and even less their connection—has been a central theme in German social historiography.[1] When historians deal with women in modern Germany, they generally do not consider racism or racial discrimination against women,[2] while the literature dealing with anti-Jewish racism and the Holocaust generally does not consider either women's specific situation or the added factor of sexism.

From Renate Bridenthal, Atina Grossman, and Marion Kaplan, eds., *When Biology Became Destiny: Women in Weimar and Nazi Germany*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1984. Copyright © 1984 by Renate Bridenthal, Atina Grossman, and Marion Kaplan. Reprinted by permission of the Monthly Review Foundation.

The extent to which the racist tradition was concerned with those activities that then and now are considered "women's sphere"—that is, bearing and rearing children—has also not been recognized. Perhaps we might argue even further that a large part of this racist tradition remained invisible precisely because the history of women and of their work in the family was not an issue for (mostly male) historians and theoreticians.[3]

To make the issue of motherhood and compulsory sterilization the center of discussion places the focus not so much on anti-Jewish racism, on which we have an extended literature, as on another form of racism: eugenics, or, as it was called before and during the Nazi regime and sometimes also in Anglo-Saxon literature, race hygiene.[4] It comprises a vast field of more or less popular, more or less scientific, traditions, which became the core of population policies throughout the Nazi regime.

Beyond the plain yet unexplored fact that at least half of those persecuted on racial grounds were women, there are more subtle reasons for women's historians' interest in the "scientific" or eugenic form of racism. The race hygiene discourse since the end of the nineteenth century deals with women much more than do most other social or political theories, since women have been hailed as "mothers of the race," or, in stark contrast, vilified as the ones guilty of "racial degeneration." Then, too, definitions of race hygiene made at the time show some conscious links between this field and women's history, describing it, for instance, as "procreation hygiene" (*Fortpflanzungshygiene*).[5] In fact, we might consider that most of the scientific and pseudoscientific superstructure of eugenic racism, especially its mythology of hereditary character traits, is concerned with the supposedly "natural" or "biological" domains in which women are prominent—body, sexuality, procreation, education—the heretofore "private" sphere.[6]

For a third reason, eugenics and racism in general are significant to women's history. After a long hiatus, the result in part of Nazism, interest in the history of women in Germany has seen a revival during the past half decade or more. However, this interest has focused almost exclusively on the historical reconstruction and critique of those norms and traditions that underlined women's "natural" destiny as wives, mothers, and homemakers whose work was not paid. Those with this perspective see National Socialism as either a culmination of, or a reactionary return to, belief in women's "traditional" roleas mothers and housewives; motherhood and housework become essential factors in a backward, premodern, or precapitalist "role" assigned to women.[7]

Thus most historians seem to agree that under the Nazi regime women counted merely as mothers who should bear and rear as many children as possible, and that Nazi antifeminism tended to promote, protect, and even finance women as childbearers, housewives, and mothers. It seems necessary to challenge various aspects of this widely held opinion, but particularly its neglect of racism.[8] Printed and archival sources on Nazi policies, passages

from Hitler's writings, other often-quoted sources like the Minister of Agriculture Walter Darré's breeding concepts, and documents from the lower echelons of the state and party hierarchy[9] show quite clearly that the Nazis were by no means simply interested in raising the number of childbearing women. They were just as bent on excluding many women from bearing and rearing children—and men from begetting them—with sterilization as their principal deterrent. It is true that the available literature does not altogether lose sight of these latter women. However, they are at best briefly hinted at, between quotation marks and parentheses, as mere negations of the "Aryan," the "racially and hereditarily pure"; the general conclusions on "women in Nazi society" usually neglect them further.[10]

Although the desirability of a new perspective seems clear, the historical singularity of the Holocaust and the need for more research before models can be constructed qualify the extent to which we may compare the interaction of racism and sexism under Nazism and under other historical conditions.[11] Yet specific comparative approaches seem possible and necessary: first, to compare the eugenics movements internationally in the first half of this century both with international population policy today and with the new sociobiological "biocrats";[12] and second, in accord with new approaches in the United States, stimulated largely by women of color, to conceptualize the connection between racism and sexism not as the mere addition of two forms of exploitation—as a double oppression—but as a manifold and complex relationship.[13]

VALUE AND WORTHLESSNESS: WOMEN IN THE RACE HYGIENE TRADITION

In the late nineteenth century, a theory of the possibility, even necessity, of eugenic, race hygienic, or social hygienic sterilization emerged, which argued that those considered transmitters of hereditary forms of "inferiority" (*erbliche Minderwertigkeit*) should be prevented from having children. Presumably lacking in social value and usefulness, they and their offspring were seen as not serving the interest of the folk or the "racial body."[14] By the end of World War I, when German aggrandizement and stability seemed at its lowest, such sterilization was widely and passionately recommended as a solution to urgent social problems: shiftlessness, ignorance, and laziness in the workforce; deviant sexual behavior such as prostitution and illegitimate births; the increasing number of ill and insane; poverty; and the rising costs of social services.[15] Recommendations for sterilization came from elements of the right and of the left, from men and women, from those leaning toward theories of heredity and from those with a more environmental orientation.[16] Criteria of what constituted inferiority were elaborated not only by political ideologists, but also by anthropologists, medical doctors, psychiatrists.

This type of reasoning, with all its subtle appeal to naïve belief in modern science, social rationality, and planning, has been called *scientific racism*, which transcends the more traditional and more overt *gut racism*.[17] Based on a polarity between "progress" and "degeneration," its criteria of inferiority had at their center concepts of "value" and "worthlessness" (*Wert* and *Unwert*, *Minderwertigkeit* and *Höherwertigkeit*) that were related to the social or racial "body" and its productivity. The use of eugenic sterilization was intended both to control procreation and, by defining and proscribing what was unacceptable, to impose a specific acceptable character on women and men: the hard-working male breadwinner, his hard-working but unpaid housewife, and children who were a financial burden to no one but their parents. This was the "valuable life": a gender-specific work and productivity, described in social, medical, and psychiatric terms. Or, in the more flowery language of gut racists: "German-blooded, Nordic-raced beings: right-angled in body and soul."[18]

What were the social motives behind these policies and their wide acceptance? The principal and most haunting spectre for the race was seen not only in the women's movement and in the lower-class uprisings between the turn of the century and the 1920s, but in a phenomenon that seemed to encompass both: the unequal propagation of the "talented" and the "untalented," the "fit" and the "unfit," the rich and the poor, the deserving and the undeserving poor, those of social value and the "social problem group."[19] The better-off, the fit, those thinking rationally, the upwardly mobile, those pursuing or competing for hard and honest work, and women seeking emancipation all limited the number of their children. The decline of the birthrate after the 1870s, reaching an international low point in 1932 and perceived as a "birth-strike" after about 1912, was attributed mainly to women.[20] On the other hand, the mentally and financially poor and the restless were seen as copulating and propagating indiscriminately, as in a "witches' sabbath,"[21] transmitting to their offspring, by the mechanism called heredity, their poverty and restlessness and their search for income from public welfare funds.[22]

Whatever the historical reality of this differential birthrate may have been,[23] its social interpretation came to be the double-edged essence of what was defined as "racial degeneration" or "race suicide." It was charged that the problem stemmed from women, possibly associated with the women's movement, who preferred to have fewer children than their mothers, and from women or couples who raised their children against prevailing norms and at the expense of community and state.[24] The proposed remedy was to reverse both trends: to impel the "superior" to have more children and the "inferior" to have fewer or none. The first aim was to be achieved through a heightened public concern as well as financial and social incentives; the latter through sterilization or, more generally, the eugenic use of just those means by which certain women or couples had limited their fertility.[25] This policy was sexist in its demand for state control of procreation, and racist in its differential treatment of superior and inferior procreation. It can therefore be seen as a dual

attack against the birth-strike of the desirable people and against the social maladjustment of those not trained to orderliness and to the work ethic, the natural task of valuable mothers. Thus special concern was given to women. "If we want to practice race hygiene seriously, we must make women the target of our social work—woman as mother and not as sexual parasite," urged the main race hygiene review in 1909. In 1929, a widely known book, *Sterilization on Social and Race Hygienic Grounds*, suggested that "the number of degenerate individuals born depends mainly on the number of degenerate women capable of procreation. Thus the sterilization of degenerate women is, for reasons of racial hygiene, more important than the sterilization of men."[26]

"KAISERSCHNITT" AND "HITLERSCHNITT": NAZI BODY POLITICS

Along with discrimination and segregation of Jewish women and men, Nazi sterilization policies were the main strategy of "gene and race care," as eugenics or race hygiene was now called, from 1933 to 1939. Sterilization policy was one form of comprehensive Nazi racism. Jews, those eligible for sterilization, were defined as inferior. Along with the Jews, National Socialism had a second scapegoat held responsible for the degeneration of the race: millions of non-Jewish, inferior women and men, who supposedly were a "burden" to the state. Like Jews, they were seen as "ballast" and "parasites" to the "body" of *Volk* and race, though Jews were seen as threatening this body from the outside, and other inferior beings were seen as threatening it from the inside. For Jewish as for non-Jewish inferior people, one decree or law followed the other from 1933 on. Among other things, they served to identify them. Thus, having a Jewish grandmother defined a Jew or a Jew of "mixed blood," and a schizophrenic episode—one's own or that of one's grandmother—served to define a sterilization candidate. The identification of human beings as valuable, worthless, or of inferior value in supposedly hereditary terms was the common denominator of all forms of Nazi racism. Birth strategy was one of these forms.

Nazi pronatalism for desirable births and its antinatalism for undesirable ones were tightly connected. On May 26, 1933, two pieces of penal legislation preceding the 1926 reforms were reintroduced, prohibiting the availability of abortion facilities and services. More important was the stricter handling of the old antiabortion law, resulting in a 65 percent increase in yearly convictions between 1932 and 1938, when their number reached almost 7,000.[27] From 1935 on, doctors and midwives were obliged to notify the regional State Health Office of every miscarriage. Women's names and addresses were then handed over to the police, who investigated the cases suspected of actually being abortions.[28] In 1936 Heinrich Himmler, head of all police forces and the SS, established the Reich's Central Agency for the Struggle

Against Homosexuality and Abortion, and in 1943, after three years of preparation by the Ministries of the Interior and of Justice, the law entitled Protection of Marriage, Family, and Motherhood called for the death penalty in "extreme cases."[29]

The corollary measure was race hygiene sterilization. Along with the new antiabortion legislation, a law was introduced on May 26, 1933, to legalize eugenic sterilization and prohibit voluntary sterilization.[30] Beyond this, the Cabinet, headed by Hitler, passed a law on July 14, 1933, against propagation of "lives unworthy of life" (*lebensunwertes Leben*), called the Law for the Prevention of Hereditarily Diseased Offspring. It ordered sterilization for certain categories of people, its notorious Paragraph 12 allowing the use of force against those who did not submit freely.[31] Earlier, on June 28, the Minister of the Interior Wilhelm Frick had announced: "We must have the courage again to grade our people according to its genetic values."[32]

Before we turn to the outcome of such value-grading, it is important to understand some laws that aggravated this policy, enabled its realization, and linked it closely both to antiabortion policy and to future race hygienic extermination. Beginning in January 1934, on the initiative of the "Reich's Medical Doctors' Leader" Gerhard Wagner, abortion of "defective" pregnancies on the grounds of race hygiene was secretly practiced with Hitler's approval; it was introduced by law on June 26, 1935.[33] It was legal only with the consent of the woman, but after being declared of inferior value, she was sterilized, too, even against her will, and after 1938 she could not even decide to revoke her initial consent.

In 1933, the government passed a law against "habitual delinquents" that provided for castration (i.e., took sterilization one step further to the destruction of the gonads) in specified cases.[34] While this law concerned men only (2,006 up to 1940), castration of women by destruction of the gonads (beyond tubal ligation: ovarectomy) was introduced in 1936, when sterilization by X-rays was included in the sterilization law.[35] Later, officials favored this procedure as an easy method for mass sterilization of camp inmates without their knowledge.[36]

The law that provided for the enactment of all these policies was passed in July 1934. It created a centralized system of State Health Offices with Departments for Gene and Race Care. Numbering 1,100 and staffed by 1943 with 12,000 State Medical Officials, they became, from 1934 on, the main agents of sterilization proposals and marriage approvals.[37] They also were the pillars of another huge enterprise: a centralized index of the hereditary value of all inhabitants of Germany (*Erbkartei*) to become the basis for all state decisions on the professional and family life of its subjects.[38]

Popular vernacular expressed the situation pungently. Eugenic sterilization was called *Hitlerschnitt* (Hitler's cut), thereby linking it to an antiabortion policy that refused abortions even to women who had gone through two

[illegible] *Kaiserschnitte* (caesarean operations). Only after three caesareans did a woman have the right to an abortion, and then only on the condition that she also accept the sterilization.[39] Transcending older political partnerships, prohibition of abortion and compulsory sterilization, compulsory motherhood and prohibition of motherhood—far from contradicting each other—had now become two sides of a coherent policy combining sexism and racism. Only for descriptive purposes do the following sections deal with them separately.

FORCED LABOR FOR MOTHERS OR CHILDREN OF CONFIDENCE?

Nazi population planners liked to register the gradual rise of the extremely low birthrate after 1933 (the birthrate of the years 1934–1939 was, on average, a third above the level of 1933, thus reaching again the level of the mid-twenties) as "a completely voluntary and spontaneous proof of [the] confidence of the German people in its Reich, its Führer, its future, a confession which could not be more beautiful" than in the form of "children of confidence."[40] Sometimes (and not only in the past) this increase has been considered a proof of the suspicion that women favored rather than rejected the regime and that they redirected themselves toward *Kinder, Küche, Kirche* (children, kitchen, church) after their emancipation in the 1920s.[41] Such an argument, however, confusing as it does childlessness and liberation, motherhood and backwardness, does not seem an adequate instrument for the historical analysis of women's lives. What was the real effect of the pronatalist aspect of Nazi population policy on women specifically as well as on the whole society?

Nazi and non-Nazi demographers agree on the limited extent of the rise in the birthrate.[42] More importantly, from the limited evidence we have on women's motives for contributing to its rise, none seems to be the result of Nazi policies and goals. Voluntary births clearly increased as economic conditions improved. Wives of party officials and SS men, who may have been close participators in Nazi goals (but who, as part of the upper class, had easier access to voluntary birth control), had extremely few children.[43] From the outbreak of war in 1939 when, mainly under the command of Fritz Sauckel, unemployed (mostly middle-class) women were encouraged or forced to join the war effort in the munitions industries and employed (mostly lower-class) women were forbidden to quit their jobs, hundreds of thousands of women used the only alternative to forced employment open to them: pregnancy. Popular wit called these women *Sauckelfrauen* and their children *Sauckelkinder*, while Nazi leaders accused them of "lack of comprehension of the necessity of war."[44]

However, while women's positive response to pro-natalism seems limited, we must also try to relate the rise of the birthrate to the one directly coercive measure of pro-natalism: forced labor for mothers through the prohibition of abortion for "valuable," "German-blooded" women. Antiabortion policies are sometimes considered the main reason for the rise in births. In fact, there is some evidence, though locally limited, that after 1932 the rise in births nearly equalled the decline in abortions.[45] This argument could be decisive, if it were measurable. Fortunately for those women who resorted to abortion it is not; the relationship between known and unknown abortions and that between spontaneous and induced miscarriages is controversial, not only in democratic societies, but even under the tight control and supervision of the Nazi regime.

While abortions are estimated at one-half to 1 million per year between 1930 and 1932, a gynecologist in 1939 counted 220,000 miscarriages in hospitals, of which he estimated 120,000 to be abortions. Criminal police experts estimated that the number of unknown abortions equalled the number that came to their attention.[46] In the 1930s, very much as in the 1920s, various documents tell of regional "abortion epidemics" in which abortions were performed by pregnant women themselves or by "old shrews."[47] In 1937 Himmler gave various estimates in secret documents ranging from 400,000 to 800,000 abortions per year.[48]

These numbers seem high, particularly if measured against the rising number of trials and convictions for abortion. Taken together, they permit conclusions that may well question women's easy compliance with Nazi pro-natalism. Nonetheless, those who were denied abortion or who did not want to risk prosecution, even if they did not want children or were endangered by childbirth, had to accept motherhood as forced labor: the labor of childbirth in its modern misogynist form and the labor of additional unpaid housework.[49]

A last consideration helps to answer our initial question. The qualitatively neutral birthrate does not tell us about the proportion of undesirable children to the desirable ones so dear to Nazi population politicians. Although it makes little sense to try through numerical count to match one against the other and thus as a women's historian to repeat the favorite eugenics game called "differential birthrate of the inferior and superior," we should definitely not assume that all children were welcome to the state.[50] While on the one hand, around 1937, the Nazis became worried about something they called *Erbangst*—people's fear of having children because there was so much talk about unworthy genes[51]—on the other hand there were German (though not "German-blooded") women who succeeded in conceiving during the time lag between their sentence of sterilization and its actual enforcement.[52] Most important, Nazi pro-natalism excluded from the ranks of honor and allowances every large family found to be undesirable because it was "hereditarily defective or racially mixed or asocial, alcoholic, lacking an orderly family life, and one in which children [are] a burden."[53]

"LIVES UNWORTHY OF LIFE"

The sterilization law, meant to prevent "lives unworthy of life," came into force on January 1, 1934. It listed nine diagnostic causes whereby a person could be sentenced by a specific genetic health court to sterilization; five categories were related to psychiatric "invalidity," three to physical "invalidity," the last to alcoholism. Authorities gave differing estimates of how many should be sterilized, somewhere between 5 and 30 percent of the population; the minister of the interior recommended 20 percent in his speech of June 1933.[54] During the nearly five and one-half years preceding the outbreak of World War II, about 320,000 persons (nearly 0.5 percent of the population) were sterilized under the terms of this law. This figure included some 5,000 eugenic abortions with subsequent sterilizations (under comparable laws in thirty states of the United States, 11,000 persons were sterilized between 1907 and 1930, and 53,000 more by 1964). While men alone determined sterilization cases in court, the victims were divided evenly between women and men. Three-quarters were sterilized under the law's first two categories: 53 percent (with a somewhat higher share among women) for "feeblemindedness," 20 percent (with a somewhat higher share among men) for "schizophrenia."[55] Between 1934 and 1937, about 80 men and 400 women died in the course of the operation.

One of the reasons why men also became subject to eugenic sterilization, in contrast to the period preceding the legislation when it had been practiced only in birth clinics frequented by poor women, was the new and efficient bureaucracy established for this purpose. Between 1933 and 1936, about 250 special sterilization courts were established as parts of the judiciary, and race hygiene experts along with judges decided on the desirability of sterilizations. Directors of institutions such as hospitals, schools, prisons, workhouses, and concentration camps, as well as welfare authorities, were responsible for selecting candidates for sterilization from among their charges. But the bulk of applications to the courts came from the newly established State Medical Officers, who got their information from the above-mentioned institutions, from mayors and private doctors, and, more rarely, from employers and neighbors of the candidates, as well as through the medical and eugenic examination of all recipients of state funds. Hardly anybody applied to be sterilized him- or herself.

The reactions of the victims were bitter and complex, as can be seen from their letters to the courts and from contemporary investigations. A medical student, checking up on sterilized women in 1936, observed that some of them

> were morally so inferior, that they welcomed sterilization. . . . Other women saw sterilization as a relief, because they were in such financial straits. In these cases, moral indifference and economic need are so great that they dominate their thoughts and attitudes toward children and toward the sterilization law. . . . On leaving, I often heard behind me scornful and mocking laughter at the idea that childlessness was a sacrifice. Many said bitterly "that children only cost money; only the rich can afford them." . . . Others viewed the loss of motherhood as a loss of purpose in life and, moreover, as a devaluation of their humanity, a source of shame and disgrace. . . . For them, the only solace could be the conviction that their sacrifice had not been in vain, but had been made to the German people.[56]

The actual criteria for sterilization can be deduced from the meticulous records kept by the courts. These criteria include mentally and physically defective kin—a broad spectrum of deficiencies ranged from quarrelsome aunts, alcoholic grandparents, and spendthrifts to sexual deviancy, particularly alleged promiscuity of women and the resulting illegitimate births. Intelligence tests examined for the ability to read, write, and do arithmetic, as well as for a knowledge of geography, history, and the names of Nazi leaders. The category "general ethical concepts" asked:

> Why does one study? Why and for whom does one save money? Why should one not burn even one's own house? If you won the lottery, what would you do with the money? How do you plan your future? What is the meaning of fidelity, piety, honor, modesty? What is the opposite of bravery?[57]

A ghastly crowd of people who did not live up to the social expectations voiced by these questions populated the voluminous official commentary to the sterilization law. They included currently ill and recovered schizophrenics, backward students, so-called promiscuous women, "asocials," and prostitutes.

Resistance came early and took various forms. Examination questions and answers were passed on, rendering the standardized intelligence tests useless. Poorly educated Nazi supporters were hauled into sterilization courts. Some victims, mostly men, hired lawyers and sometimes succeeded in protracting their cases for years. The combined resistance led to renewed debate over the criteria of inferiority in 1936–1937 and to modification of the intelligence test and its use. The individual's proof of social worth (*Lebensbewährung*) was now officially established as the decisive criterion, thus bringing into the open the contents of the medical rhetoric of eugenic psychiatry. A 1936 government decree to the sterilization courts described such "proof":

> If a person has a profession demanding achievement based on independent judgment, we can assume there is no feeble-mindedness. However, if a person performs only steady and repetitive mechanical work, shows no inclination to change or to become more efficient, and also seems unintelligent, we will be close to a diagnosis of "feeble-mindedness." . . . We almost certainly find it in people unable to earn a steady livelihood or otherwise unable to adapt socially. Such feeble-minded persons are morally underdeveloped and unable correctly to understand the order of human society.[58]

An attempt to identify the actual victims of race hygienic sterilization may help to illuminate not only their lives and social situations, but also the forms and functions of reproductive racism and some links with racism's better-known historical "solutions." The majority of those sterilized under the law were not (as in the United States) asylum inmates, or ethnic minorities, but noninstitutionalized persons of German ethnicity. The poorer strata of the population had the highest share (unskilled workers, particularly agricultural laborers), and three categories of women were far overrepresented: servants, unskilled factory or farm workers, and jobless housewives, especially those married to unskilled workers. Many prostitutes and unmarried mothers were among them.[59] "Deviancy from the norm," from "the average," was the crucial criterion in the courts. The norm itself was elaborated even more clearly as demonstrable through adherence to the work ethic, self-sacrifice, parsimony, and through the resulting upward mobility: the "German work character." For women, this ideal was represented by the worker who performed ungrudging housework and efficient labor in outside employment; her antithesis was the slut, the prostitute.

The other sterilization victims between 1934 and 1939 were inmates or ex-inmates (searched out in the old files) of institutions, mainly of psychiatric clinics and of psychiatric departments of regular hospitals. More precisely, they were all those discharged from the clinics as recovered, but whose recovery did not, according to race hygienic thought, involve their "genes," which they might pass on to posterity. It is well known that most inmates of psychiatric institutions came from a background of poverty. Patients in specified, sexually segregated "closed institutions" were not sterilized if they stayed there at their own expense.[60] A considerable number of people used this loophole and entered such an institution if they could afford one. However this option was closed by the "euthanasia" project "T 4," in which from 1939 to 1941 up to 100,000 inmates of these institutions were killed outright as "useless eaters"; after August 1941 many more were killed through plain starvation. In another way, race hygienic sterilization was a direct prelude to mass murder: the prohibition against bearing "unworthy" children was expanded into the mass murder of about 5,000 such children, sixteen years and under, between 1939 and 1944. In order to get control over these children, the government would often force their mothers into the war industry so that home child care was impossible.[61] For both sorts of mass murder, a secret and elaborate machinery was set up, resembling in its procedures the publicly acknowledged sterilization bureaucracy.

The transition to still another form of mass murder is clearly visible. T 4 was meant to be kept secret, but the news spread rapidly, arousing fear and the suspicion that sterilization of the "useless" was just a first step. Public opinion and pressure—which was, in 1941, largely led by women, children, and old people—in fact forced Hitler and his SS doctors to stop T 4 and the planned murder of three million "invalids." But the gas chambers, used for the first

time in this enterprise, were transported with their entire staff to occupied Poland, where they were installed for the "final solution."[62] The terror that had met resistance within Germany was exported beyond its frontiers to work more smoothly.

These links between race hygiene inside and outside the death-and-work and death-by-work camps suggest that only the merger of gut racism with the more scientific, bureaucratic, and planned approach of eugenic racism was able to bring to reality a bureaucratic, scientific, and faultlessly efficient genocide on the scale of the Holocaust.

Connections between these two expressions of racism are evident not only in their methods but also in their victims: along with the "deviant" groups already mentioned, ethnic minorities such as Gypsies and the few Germans of black color were targets for sterilization. In 1935, people of the Polish minority of Upper Silesia protested against sterilization of members of their group. German Jews, defined out of the German *Volk* from 1933 on, were not defined out of it through "negative race hygiene," that is, sterilization. While sterilizations of Jewish women and men were common in areas with a substantial proportion of Jews, and especially of poor, often eastern Jews, such as in Berlin, and while in 1938 abortions were "permitted" to Jewish women, by 1942 it was declared that "no more applications for sterilization of Jews need to be made."[63] The reason was that at this time Jews were being killed in concentration camps. The division between those who were and were not eligible for race hygienic sterilization according to the 1933 law coincided to a large degree with a prior division within the lower classes: between the subproletarian strata including part of the ethnic minorities on the one side and, on the other, the proper and orderly German workers hailed by many Nazis as the hard and hard-working core of racial superiority. Predominantly unskilled, the former were not integrated into the stable norm of waged work for men and unwaged housework for women; the official labor movement, which had largely excluded them, had during the 1920s taken a position toward the unskilled and toward ethnic minorities very much like that of the American Federation of Labor.

However, we should not disregard the number, though limited, of middle- and upper-class victims of racist psychiatry and sterilization.[64] To some extent, race hygiene crosses class lines, as do, to a larger degree, sexist and gut racism (most visibly in the case of anti-Semitism). To the extent that it does, it can be seen as a policy directed against those who deviate not just from general social norms but from the norms and expectations of their specific class. Its purpose is to "select" against those who do not fit into the class or the class-specific sex role to which they supposedly belong. In this way, race hygiene contributes to a confirmation of the class structure not just at its lower level, but at all its levels. Thus race hygiene carries over the attitudes and implementation of racism from the social conflicts between ethnicities into social conflicts within an ethnicity. From the perspective of its victims, the terms *ethnic racism* and

social racism[65] might denote the connection as well as the difference between both expressions of racism.

Moreover, scientific (and gut) racism had a decisive function in the spread and confirmation of two sexual double standards: assignment of typically modern, sexually differentiated roles and labors to women and men,[66] and assignment of different roles and labors to superior and inferior women. According to theoreticians of race and race hygiene, the difference and polarity between the sexes (reason/emotion, activity/passivity, paid work/housework) is fully developed only in the superior, and Nordic, races; among inferior races, including those of low hereditary value, the sexes are less differentiated—and thus heavy and cheap labor is good for both.[67] These assignments might both appropriately be called aspects of *sexist racism*.

"VALUE" OF RACE AND OF SEX: NAZI MONEY POLITICS

Financial population policy was another form of racism and sexism practiced by the Nazi regime. Historians have usually examined it as an instrument of population increase, by which, it has been argued, women were bribed back into the home, became grateful adherents of the regime, and were bought off in order to reconcile them to Nazi antifeminism.[68] However, while demographic evidence (referring to the number of births in families receiving state support) remains inconclusive at best, it suggests that the rise in births was not due to such incentives. The economic aspect of Nazi population policy is more significant to questions of racism and sexism. It can be shown by comparing the intentions and effects of state investments in births, their racist and sexist distribution, and some of the social struggles around them.

All family subventions were given to husbands, and only under strong eugenic restrictions to unwed mothers. Mothers themselves received only the nonmonetary Mother Cross, introduced in 1939. Equally important, both financial and honorary entitlements were tied to race hygienic qualifications. This was most visible in the case of marriage loans and child allowances.[69]

The June 1, 1933, Law to Reduce Unemployment, in its section "Promotion of Marriages," provided for marriage loans up to one thousand marks for those men whose wives gave up their jobs (there were similar loans in France, Italy, Spain, and Sweden); in fact, only half of this sum was paid. Three weeks after the law was passed, a new provision forgave one-fourth of the debt with each childbirth, popularly seen as "paying off in children" (*abkindern*). It was argued that the marriage loans would reduce female pressure on the labor market and give jobs to male heads of households. It did not have this result, since men rarely took up "women's work," and the condition of female nonemployment was soon abrogated, when the employment of both sexes increased. The real aim of the marriage loan was to allow men to marry at an earlier age by helping them to establish a household, and to

increase the number of births. However, the loan recipients practiced family planning despite reduced access to birth control: between 1933 and 1943, two million husbands "paid off" their loans with an average of just 1.1 children each.[70]

The distribution of financial family subventions was not only sexist, since it privileged men, but also racist, since people with "defects" considered hereditary were excluded: people eligible for sterilization (even if the sterilization tribunal had absolved them) included Jews, Gypsies, and other "alien races" as well as asocials whose "aggregate hereditary value" was considered to be below average. The latter category included "those with police records, shirkers, those with behavior problems, uneconomical persons or those on welfare, and those unable to conduct an orderly household or to raise their children to be useful citizens."[71] Ultimately, about two-thirds of all couples marrying did not apply for the loan in the first place, largely because of the eugenic restrictions, and it was denied to about 3 percent of the applicants.[72] Thus, while most loans went to working-class heads of households, they failed to reach many couples who really needed help. The main purpose of the loans was met: discrimination between the hereditarily pure and those with no or low race or hereditary value.

Child allowances, introduced in 1936, were similarly used. They consisted of a one-time benefit of 65 marks for each child and 10 marks monthly thereafter for children after the fifth, and later after the third, child; unlike in contemporary Sweden, they were given not to mothers, but to fathers. Moreover, race hygienists distinguished between "full families rich in children" and "asocial large families," between those with desirable and those with undesirable children. The latter were denied allowances, along with those of alien races and of unwed mothers with more than one child, especially if the father was not known.[73] In 1940, when these restrictions were sharpened, crowds of women and children harassed city officials demanding what they thought was rightfully theirs.[74] What had been hailed by hopeful race hygienists as the "quiet struggle of mothers for Germandom"[75] became instead a vocal resistance of mothers against discrimination against inferior women.

"BIRTH-WAR" IN THE WORLD WAR

With the declaration of war in 1939, another stage of the "birth-war"[76] was inaugurated, exacerbating previous trends. Only a few of its features can be presented here. A decree of August 31, 1939, ruled that the sterilization law was to be applied only in those cases "where a particularly great danger of propagation is imminent."[77] While this change in policy may give some insight into the earlier handling of this "danger," its principal rationale lay in the war. Sterilization candidates could not be counted on to be compliant war workers, and the old race hygiene personnel were needed for other purposes.[78] In fact, the number of sterilization trials was drastically reduced.

Simultaneously, however, sterilization policy was extended and radicalized in three dimensions beyond the 1933 law. First, mass sterilizations were executed in concentration camps, mostly on Jewish women and Gypsy women and men. Gypsy women and men were sterilized outside the camps also, sometimes with a "choice" between camp and sterilization. Future mass sterilizations were planned for those Jews who, defined as of mixed blood (*Mischlinge*), were not transported to the camps. Sterilizations of Jewish and Gypsy people in and outside the camps were done both for the sake of medical experiments and for population control, that is, in order to prevent inferior offspring.[79] Second, many women from the conquered and occupied territories in the east—about 2 million women had been deported as forced labor into Germany—were subjected to compulsory abortion and sterilization for the sake, again, of population control and in order to maintain an efficient workforce unhampered by the care of children. Little as yet is known about their lives. It is clear, however, that abortion was "allowed" to them, and that from 1942 on, an eastern working-woman's pregnancy was reported—via management and regional labor offices—to a special regional SS officer who tested her racially and decided about the outcome of her pregnancy.[80]

Less is known about the third dimension of the new policy, the birth-war against the asocials. Asociality had been an important criterion in the sterilization courts; many persons had been sterilized and asocials, including prostitutes, had been proportionately high among those deported to concentration camps during the second great wave of imprisonment from 1936 to 1941.[81] However, this criterion still had smacked too much of the "social" instead of the "biological," and it had not always been easy to classify such persons under one of the four psychiatric categories of the 1933 law.[82] Meanwhile, race hygiene theory had established the hereditary character of the disease "asociality" with such efficiency that it had become a central category of racism. After 1940, when many asocials were released from the camps to answer an urgent shortage of labor, a new law was being elaborated that provided for their sterilization. In terms of contemporary psychology, the definition of asocial was extended from the psychotic to the psychopathic and the neurotic, while the bill called them simply "parasites," "failures," "itinerant," "good-for-nothing." The legislation was to be enforced right after the war, and many high and low government and party agencies continued to discuss it throughout the war.[83]

Among women, the good housewife and industrious mother could be sure to evade sterilization. Unwed and poor mothers with "too many" children, women on welfare, and prostitutes could not be so sure. Ever more obviously, the birth-war applied typically racist measures that violated the bodily integrity of those considered socially deviant and linked ever more closely the various forms and victims of racism. In an official, though secret, decree of September 1940, the "Reich's Health Leader" Leonardo Conti granted the

State Health Offices permission to perform eugenic sterilization and abortion on prostitutes, on women of inferior character, and on those of alien race.[84] The sterilization law planned for the future was anticipated in practice.

CONCLUSION: SEXISM AND RACISM

One should not assume, as is often done, that Nazi sexism concerned only superior women and Nazi racism concerned only inferior women. Both Nazi racism and sexism concerned all women, the inferior as well as the superior. The "birth achievement" demanded of acceptable women was calculated carefully according to the numbers of those who were not to give birth.[85] And the strongest pressure on such acceptable women to procreate, to create an orderly household for husband and children, and to accept dependency on the breadwinner perhaps came not so much from the continuous positive propaganda about "valuable motherhood," but precisely from its opposite: the negative propaganda and policy that barred unwelcome, poor, and deviant women from procreation and marriage and labeled either disorderly women or single women with too many children inferior. Thus, racism could be used, and was used, to impose sexism in the form of increased unwaged housework on superior women.

On the other hand, women who became or were to become targets of negative race hygiene tended also to be those who did not accept, could not accept, or were not supposed to accept the Nazi view of female housework, whose main features can be traced back to the late eighteenth century. Sexism, which imposed economic dependency on superior married women, could be used, and was used, to implement racism by excluding many women from the relative benefits granted to desirable mothers and children and forcing them to accept the lowest jobs in the labor-market hierarchy in order to survive. In fact, modern sexism has established, below the ideological surface of theories on "women's nature" and the "cult of true womanhood," two different though connected norms for women. The demand was made of some women to administer orderly households and produce well-educated children, the whole enterprise supported by their husbands' money; others, overburdened and without support, were obliged to adopt menial jobs that paid little or nothing, while their children, like themselves, were treated as ballast. Racist-sexist discourses of various kinds have portrayed socially, sexually, or ethnically alien women as non-women, and thus as threatening to the norms for all other women: thus a racist view of Jewish or Gypsy women as prostitutes, the eugenic sexologists' view of lesbians as pseudo-men, the race hygienic view of prostitutes as asocial and infectious to the "racial body,"[86] the fantasy of Polish or feeble-minded women "breeding like animals." But of course, much more is involved here than (predominantly male) images and symbols,[87] influential though they may be in

determining women's very real treatment and self-image. Women's history needs to concentrate on the lives of those "non"-women without marginalizing them as (male) history has done.

Precisely because of the complex links between sexism and racism and, therefore, because of the relevance of reproductive racism to all women, we should be careful not to term simply "sexism" the demand placed on ethnically or socially superior women to have children they may not want, and not to term simply "racism" the ban against ethnically or socially inferior women having children, even though they may want them. More strictly speaking, we might call the imposition on the first group of women *racist sexism*, since their procreation is urged not just because they are women, but because they are women *of a specific ethnicity or social position declared superior*. Accordingly, we might call the imposition on the second group of women *sexist racism*, since their procreation is prohibited not just on grounds of their genes and race, but on grounds of their real or supposed deviation, *as women, from social or ethnic standards for superior women*. Establishing in such terms the dual connection between racism and sexism does not (as may be evident from the context) give different weights to the experiences of racism and sexism, or suggest that racism is primary in one case and sexism primary in the other. Precisely the opposite is true: where sexism and racism exist, particularly with Nazi features, all women are equally involved in both, but with different experiences. They are subjected to one coherent and double-edged policy of *sexist racism* or *racist sexism* (a nuance only of perspective), but they are segregated as they live through the dual sides of this policy, a division that also works to segregate their forms of resistance to sexism as well as to racism.

Attempting to look at the situation of all women from the perspective of "non"-women may help to analyze and break down the boundaries of such segregation. As far as the struggle for our reproductive rights—for our sexuality, our children, and the money we want and need—is concerned, the Nazi experience may teach us that a successful struggle must aim at achieving both the rights and the economic means to allow women to choose between having or not having children without becoming economically dependent on other people or on unwanted second and third jobs. Cutbacks in welfare for single mothers, sterilization abuse, and the attacks on free abortion are just different sides of an attack that serves to divide women. Present population and family policy in the United States and the Third World make the German experience under National Socialism particularly relevant. In Germany, new attacks on free abortion, the establishment of a university department of "population science," sterilization experiments on women and sterilization of welfare mothers without their knowledge, pressure on Gypsy women (especially those on welfare) not to have children, xenophobic outcries against immigrants "breeding like animals" and sometimes asking for their castration or sterilization, all-too-easy abortions and sterilization on Turkish women, the reduction of state money connected to human reproduction, both private and public,

have all occurred during the last two years.[88] It is an open question what will follow from these—still seemingly unconnected—events in the course of the present economic crisis.

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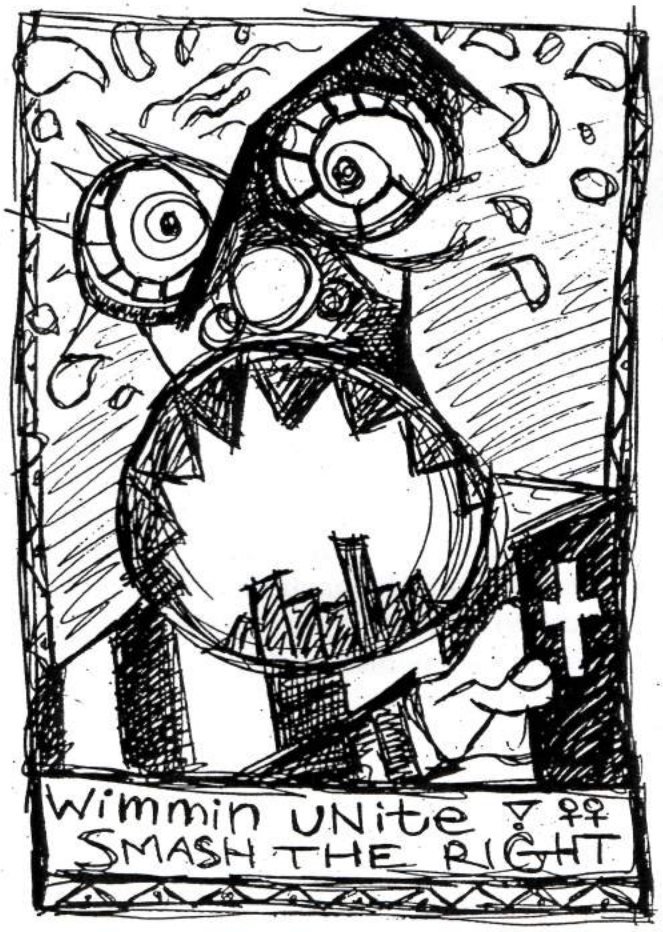

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